

POLITICAL THOUGHT OF INAYATULLAH KHAN MASHRIQI

By

Sarfraz Hussain Ansari



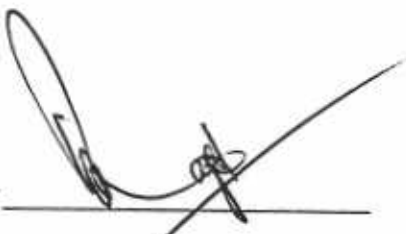
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF PAKISTAN STUDIES
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*Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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Pakistan Studies*

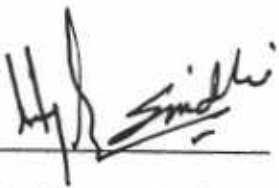
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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the results of my individual research and that is has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree

SARFRAZ HUSSAIN ANSARI



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SOME EXPLANATIONS ABOUT DOCUMENTATION OF MASHRIQI'S

Tazkirha, Vol. I

The Tazkirah (published 1924) contains three portions and all of them have separate pagination:

1. Iftetahia, meaning the opening portion, is written in Arabic and is spread over 144 pages. In this study, the portion has been termed 'FOREWORD';
2. Deebacha, written in Urdu, consists of 132 pages. Here we have called PREFACE;
3. Mugaddimah is also written in Urdu and consists of 272 pages. In this study, the portion is designated 'PROLEGOMENA'.

In the Bibliography, the three portions appear, under Mashriqi's Writings, as follows:

'⁰FOREWORD' Tazkirah, vol. I. Amritsar: Idara-tul-Ishaat Le-Tazkirah, 1924.

'PREFACE', Tazkirah, Vol. I. Amritsar: Idara-tul-Ishaat Le-Tazkirah, 1924.

'⁰PROLEGOMENA', Tazkirha, Vol. I. Amritsar: Idara-tul-Ishaat Le-Tazkirah, 1924.

In References and Endnotes, the first citation is full, i.e. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'FOREWORD', Tazkirah, Vol. I (Amritsar: Idara-tul-Ishaat Le-Tazkirah, 1924), p. (as warranted). Later references are short like this: Mashriqi, 'FOREWORD', op. cit; p (as warranted).



ABSTRACT

The study seeks to present a systematic treatment of Political ideas of Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi (1888-1963). Born to a Muslim family in the Eastern Punjab (now part of India), he passed four triposes from the Cambridge University, England, in such subjects as Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Geography, Mechanical Sciences and Oriental Languages. He adopted the teaching profession but observing the Muslim decline all over the world, he published his views on the rise and fall of nations, in 1924. He entered politics of independence in 1931 believing that existing parties had not been able to advance the cause of India's freedom satisfactorily. During 1930s, he tried to organize Muslims into an effective body and criticized the Indian National Congress for its role which he described as an effeminate one. During the decade of 1940s he incurred the anger of the British Government as well as the Congress and Muslim League. He opposed the League for its feudalistic connections and did not actively support the League's demand for division of India. He disagreed with the Congress for its emphasis on unitary structures. He is often blamed for his seemingly contradictory positions. However, any such judgement must await a study of Mashriqi's aims in politics and his philosophy of politics.

This study is concerned with Mashriqi's world-view and his political values which, in turn, rest on the synthesis he tried to effect between religion and science. He argued that the spirit of

the two was complementary; science studied nature (work of God) and religion was concerned with revelation (word of God). The impact of theories of relativity and atomic science helped Mashriqi to argue for the existence of God. At the same time, he believed that religion could be studied scientifically in that religion brought up by prophets was meant to teach mankind the principles of establishing durable and prosperous polities. Scientific study of religion could show which religion(s) contained sound principles for organizing durable and prosperous polities. And, indeed, here Mashriqi also invited scientists to undertake the task of establishing truth or otherwise of various religions.

On the foundation of religio-scientific synthesis Mashriqi builds his concept of man and attendant political values and institutions. Man for him is a product of evolution, whose mental and spiritual superiority over other beings impart dignity to him. Human dignity is enhanced when we take into account human destiny -man's evolution to a higher form of being incorporating more and more of the characteristics of God. Such evolution was to be facilitated by struggle of united mankind to conquer the universe. Mashriqi's political thought thus deals with two constants i.e. two core values human dignity and unity of mankind. Variables of his thought are institutional forms proper to realization of two values at the level of individuals, of the communal groups or communities, of nations/states and of mankind as a whole.

Mashriqi's writings fall into three periods. In the first period are included his main essay, Tazkirah (1924) and related works before his movement was banned and he was jailed in 1940.

During this period he mostly wrote about the rise of 'dynamic nation', i.e. nation whose members would be imbued with such physico-moral characteristics as would elevate them to the status of a free, independent nation; they would enjoy dignity at the level of nation. The second period covers the decade of 1940s, when Muslim League, refusing the status of a permanent minority in an independent India, worked for the creation of separate country-Pakistan. The Congress party opposed such division. Mashriqi's major work during this period was The Constitution of Free India 1946 A.C. In this document, he suggested the sort of institutions that he thought were more likely to promote the dignity of various communities in an heterogeneous society. He advocated the establishment of a corporate state. He also gave his views on how to enhance the dignity of individual human beings by laying down inviolable fundamental rights of man. The third period of Mashriqi's writings effectively begins with his letter, in 1951, to scientists asking them to assert themselves politically, to take over power in their respective societies and put mankind on the path of conquest of the universe. This, Mashriqi thought, would lead to a unity of the mankind as a whole, and process of conquest, likely to involve billions of years, would raise man to a form of being possessing characteristics akin to those of God.

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of Inquiry

This study seeks to present a systematic treatment of the political ideas of Inayatullah Khan, better known as Mashriqi, who has either been ignored or summarily treated by scholars concerned with Muslim political thought in India between the two world wars.

Mashriqi was born in 1888 in a district of the Eastern Punjab, now in India. He proved himself as a person of great intellectual power first as a student at the University of Punjab, Lahore, then at the Cambridge University in England and later, in 1924, as the author of an important book namely Tazkirah¹. The Tazkirah tried to show Islam to be "the most successful and universal principle of nation building.... the infallible and divine sociology"², foreshadowing "a heavy programme of action and nation building"³. When Mashriqi founded his Khaksar Movement (Literally, 'dust-like') in 1931, he was described as "the only political leader in India" who had "an exceptionally brilliant academic career"⁴.

Before his plunge into Indian politics Mashriqi had formulated his political philosophy and was known for his views in the Tazkirah and also his Isharat which was published in 1931⁵. The Khaksar Movement grew into an organization with several thousands of devoted and disciplined persons ready to obey the orders of relevant superiors, even at the cost of their lives. The movement came to earn a good name for its social service activities and for

the physical fitness and high moral character of its members. As a Muslim revivalist movement the Khaksars came into conflict with the British India government, were banned, and Mashriqi was put in jail. He was intermittently jailed in Pakistan as well, during which time he carried on his intellectual work. In connection with some of the work during the imprisonment in Pakistan, Mashriqi was hailed by a foreign commentator, "for the generous vitality of his ideas and the amplitude of his appeal"⁶.

When Pakistan movement grew quite strong, Mashriqi devised and propagated a scheme of a corporatist constitution on the basis of communities, with 80% seats reserved for the poor within each large community. It was optional for a province to become independent after an experimental period of keeping India united for ten years. But he incurred the animosity of both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League. He took the position that European liberal democracy neither suited an undivided India, nor the two proposed dominions which would come into existence after the envisaged partition of the Sub-continent. He argued that each new dominion would come under the dominance of one of the political parties, namely Congress in India and Muslim League in Pakistan. He thought the two were elitist in nature, their members devoid of qualities of service to the community or belief in human dignity. In his opinion, the parties were wanting in qualities absolutely necessary for establishing worthwhile polities. Mashriqi's opposition to leadership of the two parties almost sealed his fate as a leader, and also of his political ideas.

Notwithstanding his achievements in the intellectual and socio-political fields, no worthwhile academic work has been done on Mashriqi. Whatever literature has come out of the pen of non-Khaksar writers does not make use of Mashriqi's writings. Even so, 'irrational', 'anti-democratic' and 'fascist'⁷ leanings have been imputed to Mashriqi on the basis of certain of the positions he took in active politics. All this without proper appreciation of such positions and without reference to Mashriqi's explicit views to the contrary regarding such imputations.

There is need to undertake a full-scale study to highlight the political thought of a scientist-intellectual who was, as noted above, once hailed as the only political leader of India who had the distinction of having "an exceptionally brilliant academic career".

In this connection there are some questions that need to be answered:

- What were the motives of Mashriqi's thought and what were the factors that influenced his formulation and resolution of the problem that he wanted to handle?
- How did he approach reality? What was his world-view. With reference to his political thought? How does Mashriqi view man?
- What are the political values which he stresses? How does he envisage to realize such values in terms of political institutions, etc?

Significance of the Problem

Apparently, Mashriqi's attempt to influence history could not be realized in the envisaged manner, yet study of his thought is important for a number of reasons:

First, adoption of an idea at a particular time may not be the sole criterion for assessing the idea. Indeed, a celebrated historian of political thought holds that history can tell us only that a particular view was "abandoned in favour of another view by all men; it does not teach us whether the change was sound or whether the rejected view deserved to be rejected"⁸. It is necessary to undertake impartial analysis of the abandoned view, such analysis not being blinded by victory of the publicly adopted view.

Secondly, study of Mashriqi's political thought offers a richer perspective on Pakistan movement. Apparent rejection of his ideas in the final decisions about the fate of the Indo-Pak sub-continent in no way means that the change did not embody some fruit of his thought. On the contrary, Mashriqi's work during the 1930's did make a crucial contribution to the chain of events that led to momentous decisions in the history of the subcontinent. Many notable historians have seen the creation of Pakistan solely as the handiwork of the Muslim League led by Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, admitting spiritual progeny to Iqbal and intellectual one to the Aligarh movement⁹. However, recently, some writers have begun to emphasize the complexity of the Pakistan movement. That is, in the view of many writers, several currents of thought and practical

actions of many Muslims other than those belonging to the League contributed to the eventual outcome of Indian Muslims' struggle for independence¹⁰. The current of thought initiated, and dynamic action undertaken, by Mashriqi played a significant role in infusing selflessness among many Muslims.

Mashriqi emerged as a great leader of Muslim community in the Indian sub-continent during the 1930s. During that decade, Muslims of several regions came to develop a lot of self-confidence; Mashriqi's thought played a vital role in such awakening and a study of it will provide a richer perspective of Pakistan movement. Mashriqi's emphasis on faith in a people's destiny, unity of the nation and discipline under a leader later became slogans in the running of Pakistan Movement during the 1940s. That is, the organizational principles to conduct a successful struggle for Pakistan were based on ideas which Mashriqi initially adumbrated in 1924 and later expounded in 1931¹¹. It is important to lay bare the philosophical foundations of such ideas which played so important a role in the struggle for Pakistan and are still considered as Pakistan's national motto.

Thirdly, in the context of such rich perspective, Mashriqi's ideas can explain the 'ingloriousness' of Pakistan without casting doubt on the creation of Pakistan as such. There is no doubt that Pakistan's post-independence experience shook the very foundation of the nation. During the first twenty-five years of its existence, the country underwent two Martial laws, those of 1958 and 1969 followed by a dismemberment in 1971. The third Martial Law lasted

for eight years, instability at governmental level and uncertainty in public affairs, including corruption and graft, all plagued the nation ever since its creation. More recently, political polarization and civil strife have added to the already vegetative nature of the state.

Such post independence experience has cast doubts on the very wisdom of creation of the country. Ayesha Jalal, for example, suggests that since Pakistan's polity is not functioning smoothly,¹² there was something basically wrong in the nature of its creation. Reflecting in the same vein, another writer says:

Much changes have taken place in original conception and motivation underlying what we eventually got in the form of Pakistan. The objectives have been pushed to the backyard, and a roaring chaos in our thought and actions sometimes causes great doubts about the very phenomenon of Pakistan¹³.

A veteran leader of Pakistan Movement has described the country as the 'nation that lost its soul'¹⁴.

Pakistan finds herself in a labyrinth for two inter-related reasons: (1) non-appreciation by the Muslim League political elite of the social vision contained in the Islamic-Quranic symbols profusely used for mobilizing Muslim masses behind the idea of Pakistan¹⁵, and (2) the consequent vacillation in the implementation of required socio-economic and political reforms implied in that vision¹⁶.

Jinnah himself was late in coming to the conclusion that creation of Pakistan was necessary to resolve the Indian

constitutional problem¹⁷. The final decision in the matter was made as late as 1946 when the Muslim members refused to sit in the Constitutional Assembly called in session to represent whole of India, and demanded partition of the Indian sub-continent¹⁸. The Muslim League leadership did not give any systematic statement of the conceptions that were to underlie the socio-political life of Pakistan which it was trying so indefatigably to bring into existence. In a speech in August 1945, Jinnah spelled out:

We cannot afford to indulge in our differences. At this moment we must close our ranks and stand solidly and united as one nation.... We shall have time to quarrel ^{among} ourselves and we shall have time when these differences will have to be settled We shall have time for domestic programme and policies, but first get the government"¹⁹.

Lack of proper definition of the nation's ultimate destiny reflected in the post-independence vacillations about the type of society to be established, led to weak faith in national destiny. This, in turn, lessened the unity in the nation. The very nation which had been mobilized and welded into united struggle, came to be shattered because no headway could be made to institutionalize an ideology which had not been defined properly during the struggle for independence.

Fourthly, Mashriqi's thought can help provide persuasive and rational vision of society, in the wake of the 'ingloriousness' suffered largely as a result of ill-thought out and ill-developed ideology. Pakistan movement underwent a transformation, rather a substitution of the main goal. As envisaged by Iqbal, Muslims in India needed a separate territory so that they could further

develop the Shariat of Islam to meet the socio-economic challenges in a framework which would keep intact the integral relation between religion and politics²⁰. Challenges to Islamic society had appeared in the form of capitalism and 'atheistic socialism' and both of them were unacceptable to Iqbal on the ground that they made a distinction between 'the profane' and 'the sacred'. To Iqbal, Islam made no such distinction and the ultimate goal of his advice for a separate country for Muslims became a model for elimination of miseries of humanity, created both by capitalism and socialism²¹.

Under Quaid-i-Azam and the Muslim League the goal came to be metamorphosized into that of achievement of Pakistan²². Achievement of new country was a complicated and difficult process and eventually dominated, almost to an exclusion, the ultimate goal of development of shariat of Islam. In the heated struggle of creating a new country thinking on the ultimate purpose became attenuated. The attenuation was justified on the ground that process of defining Islamic ideology was liable to dissension among people, dissipation of their energies in mutual conflict and, consequent, failure to wrest Pakistan both from the Hindu leadership and the British rulers²³.

When the immediate goal of Pakistan was achieved the Muslim League leadership was not able to take any meaningful and effective steps in the direction of ultimate goal ~~and~~^{of} establishing a just Islamic society. Some soul searching has of course been done after the achievement of state in 1947. But battle of ideas conducted so

far has gone on without giving any consideration to Mashriqi's conception of national aims, or the way such aims would be promoted. Mashriqi promoted both debate on, and education in, the vision of a creative, dynamic nation²⁴. And his views on the subject still possess vitality and relevance to the problem of creating a durable and prosperous society; this is so because Mashriqi's thought in politics is rooted in his metaphysical conceptions: (i) of God as Creator as well as Provider of guidance to humankind for its survival and prosperity; (ii) of man as endowed with will, who may or may not accept guidance from God and may have to pay for his negligence in terms of individual and collective adversity, and (iii) of Nature as the arena of human endeavour to prove his capabilities by conquest of nature, not only harnessing the natural forces for his advantage but also learning lessons thereof for his human organization as well²⁵.

Mashriqi's conception of individual and social life was based on the Quranic view of man's free will and responsibility. He attempted a regeneration of the society through individual self-reform and chose service to the community as an unfailing method. Man endowed with reason was responsible for creating a prosperous and durable society by devising suitable socio-political institutions and by conquest of nature. God's guidance to man in the form of revelation was there in the scriptures, principally, in the Quran as the last edition of the word of God. But it remained man's responsibility to create conditions of prosperity and peace or to face individual and collective adversity. Mashriqi's thought

is interesting in the sense that he tries to demonstrate, on rational grounds, the importance of Quranic teachings for the socio-political conduct of nation, confuting the view current among modern sociologists that religion is particularistic in nature²⁶.

Islamic teachings emphasize universalistic norms, equality in social relations and above all, the worth of man; man in Islam is taken as deputy of God on earth. Any serious efforts to understand and/or implement Pakistan's ideology will profit by the study of Mashriqi whose interpretation of Islamic teachings bears the impress of his scientific training and is still held in respect by Muslim inhabitants of the sub-continent exposed to his thought. Behind the successes of the Khaksar Movement in works of social service during the 1930s lay a philosophy of life based on his views about the nature of God, man and universe which need to be explicated.

Fifthly, Mashriqi's thought can shed a lot of light on the problem of Islamization of socio-political life in Pakistan debate about which has not yet abated²⁷. On the contrary, there are all the signs of the debate continuing in the future. Commenting on the Shariat Bill of 1991, an eminent member of the legislature held that the Bill would be opposed both by what he called the 'rational mind' and the 'fundamentalist'. The 'rational mind' would oppose the Bill after an objective analysis: Bill provided 'no concrete guidelines' for the application and implementation of the moral precepts contained therein". The 'fundamentalist' was likely to oppose the Bill because he would see it as a series of mere

inoperative declarations of intent, that do not prescribe any specific goal for society". That is, the Bill would seem to be "an attempt to throw so much dust in the eyes of the people"²⁸. Given such assessments of attempt at Islamization, the process seems to have reached what a longtime observer of Pakistan's religio-political scenario has described as "a blind alley"²⁹. Mashriqi views religion, Deen, primarily in terms of conduct leading to prosperity and stable rule in this world, both to be employed in the fulfillment of God's command to bring unity among mankind³⁰. Seen in this perspective, most of the narrow discussions of bringing this or that aspect under Islamic laws fall on the wayside.

Study of Mashriqi's political thought could aid our understanding of a number of constitutional problems of Pakistan. In his view, durable polity could be built on the basis of revealed principles. Since the creation of Pakistan, several constitutions have been tried. Those of 1956 and 1962 were abrogated by Martial Laws, ostensibly on the ground that they did not work. The 1973 constitution has undergone crucial amendments, and constitutional dilemmas of the country still continue to plague her politics. Debate on some of the fundamental constitutional problems has raged throughout the independence period, particularly with regard to the place of Islam in the polity and the form of government³¹. Mashriqi's thought was concerned primarily with problems of establishment/maintenance of worthwhile political institutions. He guided the preparation of the 'Constitution of Free India 1946 AD.'

and had definite views on such issues as Caliphate, form of government, distribution of power among various organs of the state, representation of regions/communities, etc. However, he has never figured in discussions by scholars, nor have official reports ever cared to study the possible relevance of Mashriqi's views to resolve the constitutional dilemmas of Pakistan.

Seventhly, Mashriqi's thought and his experience in creating a militarily disciplined group seem to be quite relevant to Pakistan's defence problems, particularly the problem of defence expenditure; it has proverbially stood very high and could be minimized by creating organizations based on the Khaksar experience. Emphasizing the idea of military discipline during India-Pakistan confrontation in 1951, Mashriqi held: "The intellectual revolution; creative ideas, unity of action and thought, solidarity and Islamic fraternity which follow the conversion of the entire nation into a military unit will obviously frighten away Pandit Nehru's most coward nation"³².

In 1951, Mashriqi lamented that after having won Pakistan, the ruling elements in the country had not been able to create wealth, knowledge, trade, mental calibre, harmony and organization. In such a situation of confrontation between India and Pakistan, the same spirit of struggle against India could, in Mashriqi's opinion, make the nation militant and bodily fit, and render Pakistan invincible. National programme of defence training could energize the nation all around³³.

Mashriqi's interest in the 'rise and fall of nations' led to

explore the problem of politics from the point of view which gained predominance in the post world War II writings of students of politics and society. On the international scene, scholarly interest in the political development of the so called third-world nations since the Second World War still continues, though in a somewhat abated manner³⁴. Mashriqi overtly wrote on the 'rise and fall of nations', a subject which is intimately connected with the post-war writings on political "underdevelopment" and "development". A study of Mashriqi's political thought would afford an opportunity to have an understanding of political development as conceived by a Muslim scholar who was well versed in modern, Western, sciences. Indeed, Mashriqi's ideas provide a solid basis for indigenization, pointing out many of the pitfalls inherent in the Western approaches to the study of Asian societies³⁵. Mashriqi emphasizes ^{that} the notion of man as vicegerent of God ~~and~~ provides a basis for the assertion of rationality in public affairs, de-emphasizing particularistic attitudes, such attitudes considered as against political development. At the same time Mashriqi regards religion as the "vital part of the straight path. For the survival of a nation, it is essential that the character of its individuals should be patterned as far as possible on the character of the Designer of the universe"³⁶.

Pakistan has lagged behind in socio-economic development. Mashriqi was a scientist and had given considerable thought not only to technology but also to organization of economic activity in a manner which could contribute to the establishment of an

efficient, just and effective economic system³⁷: Examination of the premises of Mashriqi's ideas in this field could contribute to better understanding of problems of development. Mashriqi provides a model of socio-economic change which is based on Islamic notions and represents an alternative to several models which have been advanced by western writers on the subject³⁸. Mashriqi was critical of the 'stagnant East' to whom "the immense workhouse of Nature is essentially purposeless and false"³⁹. The basic thing in economic and social development was acquisition of knowledge of nature. No nation could develop economically without conquest of forces of nature. With such change in attitude towards nature and consequent mobilization of the nation as a whole, organization for economic development could be effected in a just manner, leading to maximum efficiency. Prima facie, study of Mashriqi's ideas can help look at Pakistan's Politico-constitutional and socio-economic problems in a rewarding manner.

Review of Literature:

In our statement of the problem we indicated that no worthwhile scholarly work has been done on Mashriqi. This should not obviate the fact that some work, though patchy and not much scholarly, has been done. A review of the same does point to certain issues which should be fully considered in a systematic study of Mashriqi's political thought. Before embarking upon such a review, a point must be noted and it reinforces our contention that worthwhile work on Mashriqi has yet to be undertaken. The

point is about omission of Mashriqi from scholarly works wherein one would have expected some discussion of his contribution. Among Mashriqi's contemporaries Mian Fazl-i-Hussain's Diary and Notes which does cover the period between April 1930 and end of 1936 makes no mention of Mashriqi or his Khaksar Movement in spite of the fact that Masjid Shaheed Ganj's case (involving conflicting claims about right of possession between Muslims and Sikhs in Lahore) is mentioned⁴⁰; Mashriqi and Fazl-i-Hussain both were residents of the same city, Lahore.

Several other authors in the field of South Asian studies have either made tangential mention, or have altogether ignored Mashriqi in their writings. Among such authors is S.M. Ikram who, depending upon an anonymously published work, Jinnah Faces An Assassin⁴¹, and upon Campbell-Johnson's personal impressions in his Mission with Mountbatten⁴², reconstructs two occasions on which Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah is said to have been attacked by 'Mashriqi's men'⁴³. Ikram fails to point out that a court of law did not find the accused person a 'Mashriqi's man', and that Campbell-Johnson's observations were based on a police report⁴⁴. Otherwise, ^{also} Ikram makes one tangential reference, and two entries in the index under the words 'Mashriqi' and 'Khaksars' are not traceable in his book.

K.B. Sayeed, in his Pakistan: The Formative Phase, mentions the Khaksars twice, both times tangentially. Once Khaksars are mentioned along with Ahrars, both of whom had been preaching, during 1930's, to the Muslim folk that they could regain power in India if they became good Muslims. The other mention comes up in

the letter⁴⁵ quotes from Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of the Punjab in 1948, reporting to the Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah, that anti-government slogans in Lahore reflected genuine feelings on the part of the public rather than simply being machinations of Khaksars against the Punjab government⁴⁵.

One of Aziz Ahmad's books carries the title Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857-1964⁴⁶, but it makes no mention either of Mashriqi or his book, Tazkirah, for which there had been moves for consideration for Nobel Prize in literature. Noor Ahmad in his book, From Martial Law to Martial Law⁴⁷, wonders about motives of what he describes the 'Khaksar group' in their attempt to disturb the meeting of the Muslim League which was considering the 3rd June Plan envisaging creation of Pakistan as a separate state. The book's editor, Craig Baxter, notes in the translated version that the Khaksars were a militant Islamic group; "Never a large group, the movement made up for its lack of numbers by its rigid organization⁴⁸." Neither Ahmad or Baxter makes any mention that Mashriqi authored Tazkirah in 1924. I.H. Qureshi's A short History of Pakistan⁴⁹ makes no reference to Khaksars and their leaders at all. In his other book, Struggle for Pakistan⁵⁰, the author again makes no mention either of Mashriqi or his Khaksar Movement.

Qazi Javed's Sir Syed Se Iqbal Tak⁵¹, a book about the religio-philosophical thought of Muslims in the Indian sub-continent, includes such thinkers as Syed Ahmad Khan, Maulvi Chiragh Ali, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Obaidullah Sindhi, Abul Kalam Azad and Allama Muhammad Iqbal. There is a conspicuous exclusion of

Mashriqi from the book. Among some of the otherwise careful authors, Rosenthal's book, Islam in the Modern National State⁵², nowhere mentions Mashriqi.

Indian authors have shown no generosity either. P.M. Chopra's book, Muslim India in Freedom Struggle⁵³, contains articles on some 24 Muslim thinkers-activists of the subcontinent but, like Pakistani authors, Chopra also excludes Mashriqi. Similarly, in the fourth volume of Indian official history of freedom movement, one of the contributors mentions Khaksars in the context of the 'strong measures' taken during the Congress provincial ministries (1937-39), in dealing with 'crime against the state'. The Khaksars, the author says, were led by their leader, Mashriqi, into the United Provinces and the "police had to open fire on them [Khaksar]"⁵⁴. Another recent book from India discusses the role of such Muslim organizations as Jamiat-ul-Ulema-i-Hind, Momins, Majlis-i-Ahrar and Khudai-Khidmatgar but makes no mention of Mashriqi or his Khaksar Movement.^{54a}

Leaving aside the laudatory writers on Mashriqi (who usually belong to the Khaksar Movement)⁵⁵, the rest of the writings can be divided into three broad categories. First, some writers holding the view that Mashriqi was an unreasonable person, cast aspersions on his thought. Writers in second the category highlight Mashriqi's 'authoritarian' attitude, trying to disparage him as a thinker. Authors in the third category believe that Mashriqi's views represented dynamic aspects of Iqbal's thought on the nature of Islam as a religion. We will take up each category in more detail.

Charges of emotionalism and unreasonableness regarding Mashriqi were current among British administrators for a long time. However, such charges found their recorded expression mainly in official correspondence after Khaksar-Police clashes on 19th March, 1940. The Khaksar Movement was banned just after the incident and Mashriqi himself was jailed in Madras. Top British administrators including the Governor-General did not want to make any mistake about an organization which they came to regard as 'the nearest equivalent to private army'⁵⁶. In a post-clashes report to the Viceroy on March 25, 1940, the Governor of the Punjab narrated his impressions of a meeting with the Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah in which the latter was alleged to have spoken to the Governor that he [Mashriqi] "was hardly sane, extremely difficult to reason with and dangerously fanatical"⁵⁷. Whatever the value of the privately reported words, they do indicate the Governor's negative feelings towards Mashriqi. The same Governor while ~~re~~ reiterating that Khaksars were an unlawful association, opined that any move to rescind the order "would be a great mistake"⁵⁸. He thanked the Viceroy for arrest of Mashriqi by the Central Government.

A Governor-General commenting on Mashriqi's efforts in early 1944 to arrange a meeting between the Quaid-i-Azam and Gandhi, so that the two could come up with some unanimous decision on the independence of India, described Mashriqi's statements as "silly ones", and wondered how "the half-cracked Allama should be a successful broker between Gandhi and Jinnah"⁵⁹. Mashriqi's letter to that Governor-General, volunteering his mediatory services, was

described as "impertinent"⁶⁰. The Governor-General disallowed Mashriqi's Khaksars their request for an interview with the British Cabinet Delegation when the same came to discuss, in 1946, with Indian leaders problems connected with transfer of power⁶¹.

A number of Mashriqi's Indian contemporaries, both Muslim and Hindu, held similar views. As indicated above, the Punjab Governor's report of March 1940 puts Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah on record to have held Mashriqi as "hardly sane". Whether this was a true statement or a mere impression on the part of the Governor, is difficult to say. However, it can be said with some confidence that a number of Indian Leaders held views which had such connotations. For example, Gandhi thought that "the Khaksars wanted to terrorize the Hindus". His advice to Hindus was to "fight this menace [of Khaksar terrorism] non-violently"⁶². During Gandhi's consultations with Congress leaders about possible resistance by Khaksars to a proposed non-violent 'Quit India Movement', Abul Kalam Azad was of the opinion that "Gandhiji was exaggerating the importance of [sic] and the strength of the Khaksars". Mashriqi, according to him, "was an egoist who wanted to keep himself before the public eye any how". Mashriqi, in Azad's opinion, was "whimsical, lacked idealism, and has proved himself weak at the time of the trial"⁶³.

Nehru seems to have disclosed his feelings when he commented on an attempt, in 1957, by some members of Mashriqi's movement to discredit their leader: "We have known Anayatullah Khan as we came in touch with him before independence. His own organization has now described him as mentally deranged"⁶⁴. The occasion of Nehru's

adverse comment was Mashriqi's movement to pressurize India morally to give up her hold on Kashmir which Mashriqi thought would be in the interest of the people of both India and Pakistan.

Among Muslim scholars, Mashriqi's alleged unreasonableness has been stated in a more sophisticated manner. Some, for example, have thought it "unrealistic" on the part of Mashriqi to have put an opposition to the Muslim League, particularly during the period when the British had accepted the Muslim demand for Pakistan⁶⁵. Some Pakistani scholars consider it against reasonableness on the part of Mashriqi not to have fully supported the Muslim League leadership⁶⁶.

Apart from propaganda by the British Indian government alleging links between Mashriqi and German Nazis, Mashriqi has also been accused as a person of authoritarian bent. Heera Lal Seth accused Mashriqi of Nazism and fascist sympathies⁶⁷. Brailsford, assessing potential for revolutionary action in India, commented in 1943 on the instability of Indian social structure. He observed that the embittered and unemployed youth might be turned in a fascist direction, particularly emphasizing that the Muslim Khaksars had been "organized on the Nazi model."⁶⁸ Hector Bolitho, a British and author of the Pakistan Government-sponsored biography of the Quaid-i-Azam, notes that the Khaksars were a "Muslim group founded on Nazi lines... and [were] led by a malcontent educated at Cambridge"⁶⁹.

More recent historians seem to have stuck to the adverse views mentioned above. Ayesha Jalal describes the Khaksars as a "non-

communal [but predominantly Muslim] para-military organization whose leader, Mashriqi, was a 'self-avowed admirer of Hitler' and saw "the Khaksars as the Indian version of the SS."⁷⁰ Gankovsky, a Russian historian, describes the Khaksars in the same vein, saying that they had been "a profascist para-military organization."⁷¹

G. Allana's book, Our Freedom Fighters, does not include Mashriqi among the "Twenty Great Lives". On the other hand, in his account of the life of Bahadur Yar Jang, the author remarks: "those that have met and discussed politics with Allama Mashriqi will bear me out, when I say that he was dictatorial in his thinking and his deeds." Not only that, Allana slips in another remark, without any comment: "the British government viewed the activities of the Khaksars as fascist~~s~~ and against their interests as rulers of India"⁷² The author of What Price India narrates the June 3, 1947 event of Khaksars skirmishes with the League national guards plus the police in which "it was pathetic to see some of them [Khaksars] bleeding or dealt with severely by the police". "It was all due", the author says, "to the misguided action of their leader, Allama Mashriqi, who unnecessarily wanted to interfere in politics,"⁷³

Notwithstanding such detractors of Mashriqi, the third category includes authors who have indicated the positive contribution of Mashriqi's movement in the Indian struggle for freedom in general and a diffused catalytic role for Pakistan movement in particular. Peter Hardy notes the Khaksar Movement's success in generating a fervour for direct action among lower

middle class Muslims, hitherto politically inert, upon which the All India Muslim League was able to capitalise when it too aimed to become a mass movement under Jinnah's leadership during 1937-1947 period⁷⁴. Still others have noted the important aspects of Mashriqi's thought which inspired several thousands of youth and upon which, as Hardy notes, "the All India Muslim League was able to capitalise"⁷⁵. In that connection, it was noted by Kraemer in 1931 that "under Mashriqi's hands Islam becomes the most successful and universal principle of nation-building and all religious and moral injunctions become means serving that end. It becomes, so to speak, infallible and divine sociology."⁷⁶ Several authors have followed this judgement by Kraemer almost word for word. Some have added to Kraemer's views by juxtaposing Mashriqi's ideas to those of Iqbal, particularly in the realm of "action", noting that Mashriqi and Iqbal both had insisted that "Muslims become energetic". Mashriqi, as May has pointed out, emphasized that Islam meant three things: "Jihad [a voluntary sacrifice], united effort, and belief in one self and one's efforts."⁷⁷ According to May, Mashriqi's "call to unity, a sacrificial spirit and self assurance seem to fit perfectly into Iqbal's appeal. They were three concrete principles consolidating the Indo-Islamic community, infusing it with dynamism and confidence that it shall be successful in its quest for self-realization. (Khudi or autonomy in Iqbal's terminology)".⁷⁸

Writing in the same vein, Schimmel says that, for Mashriqi, "Islam is action; his followers, wearing a brown uniform and

carrying a spade, were regarded as soldiers of God and Islam⁷⁹." Schimmel looks at Khaksars as a movement of masses who enthusiastically followed their leader when he attacked the effeminate non-violence movement, but also the ulema who failed to provide the Muslims with a working ideology. She notes that ~~in~~ Mashriqi described Muslim ulema in the following manner.

Their poverty, ignorance, vileness
 destination, helplessness, dumbness,
 filthiness and their tatters, all these
 clearly indicate that, whatever they be they
 can never be the leaders of this nation⁸⁰.

Iqbal had recognized as early as 1921 that the endeavor to obtain Islamic universalism in actual life might involve Muslim national organizations as temporary phases in the unfoldment and upbringing of collective life. It was eminently clear to him that the ideal of Islamic universalism could not be obtained while Muslims were in a state of political submission⁸¹.

Farzana Sheikh has recognized the irony in that Mashriqi's thought and action represented the practical expression of Iqbal's "dynamism"⁸², at the same time that Khaksars were also opposed to the League which demanded a separate Muslim state, which Iqbal himself had done so much to promote. In spite of opposition to the League, Mashriqi attempted, perhaps most fully, to embody the spirit of their faith as a code of action which also represented Iqbal's political philosophy. Mashriqi saw the value of the religious faith to lie in its vitalism and its capacity to generate a society with the means to establish its distinction from, and

indeed its opposition to, non-Muslims. Like Iqbal, Mashriqi believed that the ultimate destiny of Islam as universal principle could not be realized without the Islamic dispensation of power.

The foregoing paragraphs show that a number of Western authors and some Pakistani writers have noted a closeness in the thought of Mashriqi and Iqbal, especially with regard to religio-political dynamism, which emphasizes action as against mere verbal beliefs as the essence of religion. In political terms, dynamic Islam would work for self-rule and supremacy, may even attempt for ^{leadership of, and} supremacy over the world. The lead from Western writers is slowly being recognized but Mashriqi's ideas about the role of religion/revelation in the proper organization of man's socio-political life still remain to be understood properly. To Mashriqi, the Quran was the updated edition of God's message to man and could be defended on the basis of its sound content. His defence of the Quran represented the defence of all revelation, shorn of accretions⁸³. According to Mashriqi, all prophets brought the same message. It is in the light of that message that we approach Mashriqi's political thought.

Central Argument

Our review of the available literature on Mashriqi tends to indicate that writers who have treated Mashriqi in their works have usually drawn unwarranted conclusions regarding his political thought. This seems to be so for two main reasons: (1) with the exception of Syed Shabbir Hussain's work⁸⁴, most of the writers

have not utilized even Mashriqi's Tazkirah, not to speak of other voluminous writings in the form of books, articles and editorials in the weekly al-Islah⁸⁵ (The Reform), and pamphlets and published speeches. (2) Mashriqi's participation in politics has quite often been seen not in terms of pursuit of his values, i.e. his political behaviour has not been seen in the context of what he intended to achieve. On the other hand, it has been seen in the context of what other actors wanted to achieve in politics and, in the process of such intellectual vantage, Mashriqi's role has usually been adjudged as 'negative', 'contradictory', 'irrational' etc.

Careful study of Mashriqi's writings, including his pre-independence proposals contained in his Constitution for an undivided India and post independence proposals proffered to Pakistani authorities for institutional reforms, reveal that his thought can be approached in terms of constants and variables. Constants of his thought are the basic values which are contained in his Tazkirah (1924) and which he seems to have adhered to in all his writings explicitly as well as implicitly. Such values relate to his conclusions on the nature of man.

Mashriqi's political thought is premised on two core values, both of them related to the concept of evolution. They are human destiny and human dignity. The concept of dignity is well developed and encompasses most of his writings and helps explain his political thought and behaviour. Man as an evolved being is subject to laws which apply to physical and biological existence, but has been endowed with capacity for overcoming imperfections of physico-

biological existence. Man is capable of reaching definite conclusions regarding the existence of the universe and can reflect on his own destiny and conduct himself accordingly. Created in the image of God, Man possesses dignity which fact must be reflected in all institutions of human society. Creation of proper institutions is man's own responsibility, although he has been given guidance in the form of revelation, the last edition of revelation being the Quran. Man as conscious and self-conscious being possesses discernment and free will. He is free to choose and is envisaged to take responsibility for what he chooses to do. That is, he is to face consequences of his actions, both individually and collectively.

The other core value, human destiny, refers to Mashriqi's view that man is destined to evolve into some 'higher being' eventually fusing back into God-head. This concept has been left somewhat undeveloped and remains esoteric as to mechanisms for the realization of the same. However, the notion finds expression in his political behaviour and some of the later writings, principally his letter, in 1951, to scientists all over the world. The letter was reworked into a booklet titled The Human Problem⁸⁶. In this Mashriqi holds that man as one species is engaged in the task of survival on earth and conquest of the universe to eventually evolve into a 'higher being'. Unity of mankind is crucial for prosperity of the human kind and it is the responsibility of man to effect such unity. Man cannot undertake conquest of the universe without uniting the humankind. Although the notion of human destiny is not

well developed, the most intimately connected concept of unity of mankind as promotive of human survival and further evolution, prosperity and technological development enabling man to fuse back into Godhead, is well developed. Unity of mankind is, therefore, treated as one of the two core values in this study.

Variables of Mashriqi's political thought stem from two sources. First, looked at in the perspective of historical experience, human dignity seems to have had three levels; namely, (1) The 'national' level at which a group may work for establishment and perpetuation of self-rule, i.e. independence from domination by other groups; such state of affairs corresponds to Mashriqi's concept of the 'dynamic nation'.

(2) The 'communal' level at which a group may live with other groups on the condition that its cultural-religious values are given protection and/or can find expression. Such arrangements may be treated in terms of the corporate state.

(3) The level of individual at which a person's dignity is protected and promoted by provision of suitable socio-economic and politico-legal arrangements.

Each of the three levels is likely to demand creation of suitable institutions in different spheres.

The second source of variables is to be found in Mashriqi's active politics in which he pursued the realization of his values. Difference in circumstances led Mashriqi to different views with regard to possible institutional mechanisms. This means that in the matter of institutions, Mashriqi was flexible. Any

institutions/procedures that could contribute to realization of the two values could be adopted. Keeping the values of human dignity and the ideal of unity of mankind before it, a society could decide upon institutional forms and could modify them if more effective ways were found to accomplish the two political values.

Our approach to Mashriqi's thought is premised on the notion that it is very difficult to separate the purpose of political life from the purpose of life itself and the answers one gives to political questions depend, in the last analysis, upon one's conceptions of right, and wrong. This means that in the study of Mashriqi's political thought will be involved questions of human purposes-values-and questions of ideals, moral ideals. This means that political philosophies are intelligible only within a wider frame of reference. Such a frame of reference should show not only what sort of political institutions the political thinker wishes to establish or maintain, but what objective he is attempting to secure.

One must not only ask what he wants to do to political arrangements, one must also ask why he wants to do it. In asking this question it will be recognized that political thinking has been a succession of attempts at adumbrating comprehensive, rationally justified views of the nature and destiny of man and of the political and social directions which our knowledge of man's nature suggests that men should feel obliged to move in. These are the considerations by reference to which political commitments are said to be right or wrong.

In our emphasis on human values and purposes, and possible institutions and procedures for realizing such values, we are putting Mashriqi in the tradition which goes back to such eminent thinkers as Plato, Augustine, Aquinas, Hobbes, Spinoza and Hegel in Western Political thought. All these theorists wrote about man's organized life in the context of some great philosophical system or world view, theorizing about man's nature, his values and purposes, his plight, and reflecting on ways and means and desirable institutions for amelioration of man's conditions. ~~of Writings of celebrated system builders,~~ many other great political thinkers will show that the specifically political writing is part of a larger scheme to which politics is in some sense subordinate. For example, Locke wrote not only treatise on government but also an Essay on Human Understanding. Bentham was the author not only of a Fragment on Government, but also Not Paul But Jesus⁸⁷.

It is in this tradition of comprehensive philosophies that we see Mashriqi, emphasizing that men are intended by nature to live in society in harmony and peace, that they may fail to do so because of lack of knowledge to attain that end, and that it is possible by systematic reflection, including reflection on revelation, to discover the proper way to create harmonious society.

Sources and Mode of Inquiry

Both primary and secondary sources have been used in the prosecution of our study. Among the primary sources are Mashriqi's own writings and archival materials available at the National

Documentation Centre and National Archives of Pakistan, both located in Islamabad. Similar materials are located at Peshawar and Lahore as well. Some of such material has become available in the Transfer of Power⁸⁸ volumes and, more recently, in volumes published by the Quaid-i-Azam Academy as well as in Jinnah Papers⁸⁹ (of which two volumes have been published). Apart from one-time classified material, Archives also house newspapers which have been found useful for the study.

Mashriqi's own writings consist of his books, his editorials and articles in the al-Islah (The Reform) magazine (which started in 1934, remained a regular publication till 1940 and became intermittent afterwards), published statement and addresses and speeches, which were usually written down before delivery. A number of articles found in Mashriqi's personal papers have now been published.

Mashriqi planned to write his Tazkirah in ten volumes. He claims to have completed manuscripts of first six volumes. Not all of them saw the light of the day; and there was a long gap of some forty years between the publication of the first volume in 1924 and that of the second in 1964. However, Mashriqi claimed the first volume to be a self-contained one, embodying essential ideas of all the other volumes.

His Isharat published in 1931⁹⁰ was essentially his programme of the Khaksar Movement but it contains ideas on the type of leader required for Indian Muslims to mould them into a dynamic nation. The book also contains Mashriqi's perceptions of the political

forces then at work and his assessment of their past performance. A number of books, particularly Qaul-e-Faisal (1936)⁹¹ and Magalat⁹² (Essays) in three volumes, are collections of articles from the al-Islah weekly magazine. A large number of pamphlets were also first published in the al-Islah.

Taking into account contents of the four unpublished volumes, as occasionally mentioned in the first volume of the Tazkirah, we can say that such contents were utilized by Mashriqi in his speeches and pamphlets and also in two important prose works. One of the two, Hadith-ul-Quran⁹³ was completed in Jail in 19 days. This book has chapter headings which when compared with indications in the first volume, seem to incorporate substantial material from unpublished manuscripts of other volumes of his opus magnum, the Tazkirah.

Indeed, Mashriqi says that whatever he wanted to say in ten volumes of the Tazkira has been published, in precis form, in the Hadith-ul-Quran and that in the presence of this book, one need not ~~to~~ consult any other book to know his thought. The other work, Takmilah⁹⁴ (The Supplement), in two volumes, was published in 1960. This work is sub-titled: "The last-word on the teachings of the Quran". Most of Mashriqi's correspondence has been collected in a volume titled Khaksar Tehrik Aur Azadi-e-Hind (The Khaksar Movement and Indian Independence) published in 1982⁹⁵.

Mashriqi's thought regarding political institutions is contained in the Constitution of Free India, 1946. It is a carefully thought out document and brings to the fore the variables

of Mashriqi's thought i.e. the aspects of his thought which varied according to circumstances. The constants of his thought were two core values — human destiny, emphasizing unity of mankind, and human dignity, which are principally reflected in his Tazkirah.

As indicated in our review of literature on Mashriqi, scholarly work on the subject is negligible. However, there have been many occasions in which Mashriqi's style is polemical, didactic and, quite often, he alludes to persons and ideas in his polemics. It becomes important and feasible to elaborate on, and provide context to, Mashriqi's allusions/remarks. This necessitates use of pertinent secondary material.

Mashriqi's writings are remarkably consistent in terms of ideas. Even his speeches are based on views adumbrated in his major writings, principally the Tazkira. Our approach to Mashriqi is mainly a fusion of analytical and descriptive approaches. It is descriptive to the extent of elucidation of ideas and concepts, and their illustration. Otherwise, we offer an analysis of his major ideas in politics. We do make use of the works of historians, but we do not approach Mashriqi in historical manner. Mashriqi's ideas remained the same as they were set down in his Tazkirah. There have been some elaborations and application in terms of ideas contained in his main work. Mashriqi does not depart from his views contained therein and does not bring in any new ideas in his later works, not even in his speeches and addresses.

Organization Of The Study

Apart from this Introduction, the study is organized into six

chapters and a summary and conclusion. The first chapter offers background to Mashriqi's political thought in terms of three factors, namely, his life (particularly his early life and education), motives, and his religio-scientific synthesis to resolve the problem of rise and fall of nations. The early life and education tell us about the influences which worked on him to mould his mind in a particular manner. This gives a picture of Mashriqi's mind as it had been formed before he undertook to theorize about politics. Here we discuss his religious, family, background and the later scientific training under some of the famous scientists at the Cambridge University in England. Mashriqi's motives are important in that they tell us the question which he chose to tackle. It is the decline of the Muslims as a world actor which acted as the motivating force of his thought. We discuss how Mashriqi formulates his hypothesis keeping in view the Quranic contents and the Muslim conduct.

Mashriqi evolves a world view which helps him in the successful tackling of his problem in the Islamic idiom. Specifically, his world view contains God, the Creator, Who creates both man and nature. But He endows man with will power and makes him responsible for whatever he does. Man can further evolve himself and gain power by acquiring knowledge of the laws of nature. The more he acquires knowledge of the work of God, the more powerful he will become. Guidance from God in the form of revelation will give man principles for the effective and efficient social organization to achieve his purpose of the conquest of

nature. Man is seen as a product of evolution, a creation who is endowed with will and special organs (eyes, ears, brain) which gives unique status to man, and possesses rational and spiritual aspects fundamentally different from his animal heritage. Indeed, man, says Mashriqi, has been created as vice-gerent, and in the image of God, possessing self-consciousness and free will. Above all, he possesses dignity and has a destiny.

The remaining chapters are concerned with human dignity and human destiny as two core values in Mashriqi's thought. Chapters three to five work out the concept of human dignity and chapter six that of human destiny which is to be empirically taken in terms of unity of mankind. Human dignity is historically manifested in its concern for a group which wants to be independent of other groups; it values self-rule. The ~~second~~ ^{Third} chapter looks at such a group and discusses Mashriqi's ideas regarding the 'dynamic nation'. In his view, there are ten principles (his decalogue) by following which a group can attain the status of a dynamic nation. We discuss the concept and indicate how Mashriqi applies his ideas about the dynamic nation to the rise of European imperial powers. Such principles could be applied in raising the Indian Muslims to that status and we discuss Mashriqi's programme of the Khaksar Movement to that end. We also mention Mashriqi's indignation with the British who would hinder his efforts and also his quarrel with other Indian groups which were looking for freedom without acting upon his decalogue.

It has happened historically that some groups have been

contented with remaining as part of a dynamic group, an independent nation. However, they do not want to lose cultural identity. If we recognize the dignity of an individual human being, we must recognize the dignity of the group with which he identifies himself. In chapter four, in the case of heterogenous society, Mashriqi emphasizes the concept of corporate state in which rights of all groups have been specified in a constitution. We discuss arrangements which Mashriqi tried to evolve in his Constitution of Free India in order to keep India united in a corporate state. We also discuss Mashriqi's opposition to both the Congress and the League who had come to accept the institutions of Western liberal democracy. Mashriqi casts his arguments in terms of his decalogue, emphasizing that both rulers and the ruled have to have the same attitudes/characteristics. The two organizations, in his view, were led by persons without having training in how to rule, or be ruled. In Mashriqi's opinion institutions of liberal democracy in a united India or in more dominions created out of her, would be disastrous in terms of communal and individual dignity. He suggested fundamental modifications to usual liberal democratic institutions.

Within a polity, whether homogeneous or not, individual human dignity is to be the corner-stone of public life. The fifth chapter discusses Mashriqi's views on the promotion of dignity of an individual human being. In this connection, Mashriqi lays down certain fundamental human rights which should always be promoted and should never be transgressed. Taking the example of possible establishment of corporate state in India in 1947 he shows how such

rights should/could be institutionalized.

One reason why Mashriqi wanted a corporate state and pleaded against the division of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan was that Mashriqi was in favour of more and more people coming to unite among themselves. This theme is explored in the sixth chapter. According to Mashriqi, man was destined to conquer all nature, to capture and inhabit the heavenly bodies. This was possible only by advancement in technology which, in turn, was seen to depend upon peace among mankind. Peace could come and prevail only if mankind could be united. The chapter undertakes a discussion of Mashriqi's ideas under the title 'World Unity'.

At the end, we present a summary and conclusion of the study.

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 31. Kamal Azfar, Political and Constitutional Dilemmas in Pakistan (Karachi: Pakistan Law House, 1987).
 32. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, Khitab-e-Lahore (a Pamphlet in Urdu Containing Mashriqi's address at Lahore in May, 1950) (Rawalpindi: Mujahid Publications, n.d.).
 33. Ibid.
 34. Beginning with late 1950s, literature on the subject of Political development proliferated. Its climax was reached by the publication of a series called "Studies in Political Development" sponsored by the Committee on Comparative Politics of the Social Sciences Research Council in the United States Six Volumes published by the Princeton University Press Princeton (N.J), during the years 1963-1966, were (in order of

the series): Lucien W. Pye, Communication and Political Development. Joseph Lapalombara; ed. Bureaucracy and Political Development; Robert E. Ward and Dankwart A. Rustow, Political Modernization of Japan and Turkey; James S. Coleman, ed; Education and Political Development; Lucien W. Pye and Sidney Verba, eds; Political Culture and Political Development and Joseph Lapalombara and Myron Weiner, eds. Political Parties and Political Development.

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35. Inayatullah Khan Mashriqi, 'PREFACE,' Tazkirah (Amratsar, Punjab: Idara-tul-Ishaat Le-Tazkira, 1924), pp.26-29 and Inayatullah Khan el-Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, trans. Syed Shabbir Hussain (Rawalpindi: Akhuwat Publications, 1980), pp.52-55.
36. Mashriqi, 'PREFACE,' op.cit; p.29 and Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, op.cit; p.55.
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Disciple and son-in-law of Mashriqi, Akhtar Hameed Khan, has won international repute for his 'Comilla Model' of rural development. As first director of Rural Development Academy at Comilla, East-Pakistan (now Bangladesh), Khan evolved a model which included, inter alia, (i) increasing per capita income and, thereby, improving the standard and quality of life of the rural people and (ii) establishment of a process for ensuring a more equitable distribution of the incremental benefits. See Paris Andreou and Ahmed Ghau, "The 'Comilla Model' and Rural Development in Bangladesh," Journal of Administration Overseas, 18 (1979), 270.

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CHAPTER 1 BACKGROUND

This chapter is based on the assumption that political thought has its origin in some problem which confronts a thinker. But the way the thinker formulates the problem and seeks its solution in his thought depends upon the tools available to him as a result of his experiences and/or intellectual training¹. Mashriqi was born in an educated religious Muslim family in British India and received the upto-date Western education in science as well as Oriental languages. In this chapter we trace the religio-scientific foundations of his thought as a basis for a detailed study of his political thought in the later chapters. In tracing such foundations, we seek answers to the following questions:

- What was the content of family influences and education on Mashriqi?
- What was Mashriqi's conscious motive that set him thinking?
- How did he formulate his problem?
- How did he use his intellectual tools to solve the problem?
- How did Mashriqi try to persuade others to accept his point of view?

We answer the questions in two major parts. In first one, we narrate the influences from his family and education, alongwith his growing consciousness of Muslims' decline as a world force. In the



second, we describe his formulation of the problem which confronted him, giving an account of the religio-scientific notions which he synthesized into a whole, and the way he tried to persuade scientists to accept his ideas.

Mashrigi's Education and Motives

Three decades before the birth of Inayatullah Khan, the sub-continent of India had passed under the domination of the British, displacing the Muslim rule for ever. Established in 1206 A.D., the Muslim power in India reached its zenith during the time of Mughal Empire and declined when, in spite of the victory for Muslim arms at the battle of Panipat in 1761, the Empire did not remain a live force. "It lingered on - that is, the court lingered on - but both Muslim and Hindu were exhausted, and in the last half of the eighteenth century the British began to establish their supremacy over each"². During the next century, the East India Company's exorbitant and expansive rule, Christian missionary work seen to be an unwarranted attack on indigenous religions, imposition of social 'reforms' by rulers alien in faith and indifferent to the feelings of the people, use of armour items suspected of being made from religiously prohibited material, etc. - "all combined to produce a spirit of general unrest and revolt"³. It happened in 1857, but failed mainly because of absence of any planning in terms of both material and human resources. Once the uprising had taken place, it was wholeheartedly supported by the common people. But owing to the lack of organization and coordination they fought mostly like

rabbles⁴. There was no common leadership equipped with military and material resources. The Mughal ruler who was affirmed as legitimate ruler by most leaders of the uprising, had to auction his personal effects to pay the salaries of the soldiers⁵.

Complete failure of the military uprising left no doubt as to the supreme power of the British. Military option being closed forever, Muslims undertook to reform themselves on two broad models. Sayyid Ahmad Khan started a movement, which stressed cooperation with the British rulers, study of modern science and literature without giving up the vital Islamic teachings contained in the Quran. A major concrete institution, the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College, was founded in 1877 (became university in 1922). Alongwith other activities of Sir Sayyid, the institution aimed at Muslim regeneration to participate in the world of modern science, technology, and slowly-evolving western political structures. The other model stressed religious renewal and moral purification, without being averse to the use of new technologies. The main emphasis was to disseminate instruction in authentic religious ideas, belief and practice. The model was exemplified by the establishment of Dar-ul-Ulum, Deoband in 1866.

British administration was well-entrenched when Mashriqi was born in 1888 in Amritsar District (now in the East Punjab in India). He came of a Muslim family (of Rajput extraction) about which our only source of information is Mashriqi's note in one of his poetical works, namely, Dah al/Bab⁶. According to the note, the family seems to have enjoyed high social status. An ancestor, Lal

Muhammad, is said to have embraced Islam during the reign of Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1618-1707) and given a military rank and a jagir in Gurdaspur (also now in the Indian Punjab). Thereafter, four successive generations of the family served under various Mughal rulers and were given additional jagirs. The family came under clouds during initial years of Sikh rule. However, under Ranjit Singh (1807-1841), the family succeeded not only in securing appointments but also in getting back their ancestral jagirs.

Mashriqi's father, Ata Muhammad, (1846-1925) authored several books including Islam ki Haqiqat and Adillatul Kiram fi Asbat-e-Aqaid-e-Islam. Both the works attempted to interpret Islamic thought in the light of western knowledge⁷. Ata Muhammad also wrote Qasaids in praise of Sultan Muhammad V (1844-1918) of Turkey eulogizing him for introducing constitutional reforms and Young Turks for establishing a new order in the country in 1908⁸. In 1880, Ata Muhammad is said to have written an article on the possible decline of the British government in India. He suggested that the British should be generous and bounteous like the Mughals in their rule else they would not be able to control the 'royet' (The Indian subjects)⁹.

Ata Muhammad is reported to have assisted in preparing the report of Education Commission set up by the Indian Government in 1882¹⁰. The Commission recommended for the expansion of elementary education and establishment of institutions, not by the Government, but by the private sector, the Government merely assisting them through grants-in-aid. He was a friend of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan

(1827-1899) and had close relations with some of the prominent political and literary figures of his time, namely, Mirza Asadullah Khan Ghalib (1797-1869), (the Shakespeare of Urdu Language), Syed Jamaluddin Afghani (1839-1897), a Pan-Islamist revolutionary leader. The latter, during one of his visits to India, stayed with Mashriqi's father at Amritsar. Similarly, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad resided with him when he edited the weekly Wakeel, at Amritsar (11). In 1895, when only seven, Mashriqi accompanied his father to an educational conference at Rampur. There he saw Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who showed his affection to the child, patted him and took him in his lap¹¹.

Mashriqi received his early education at home, mostly from his father¹². He subsequently recollected the imprints of his early schooling stating that it were his parents who had taught him to have a definite aim in life and to strive unabatedly until that aim was achieved. "One voice", he wrote, "was ever coercing the heedlessness of my childhood with the constant precepts of 'Man can do what man has done'. That voice was my father's which coupled with the sweet rhythm of my mother, still reaches me with undiminished vigour... It vibrates in my lecture hall, in my dining room, in my bed chamber"¹³. Mashriqi says that he was very much impressed by the strong character of his mother. She was regular in the performance of religious obligations, including punctuality in daily prayers and recitation of the Quran. Her affection and strictness with her children created a "soft-spoken, quarrel-free and harmonious home"¹⁴. She sent to Mashriqi non-perishable cooked

food items even when he was at Cambridge.

Mashriqi's father wrote poetry and held the view that one should be able to understand poetry. But, according to Mashriqi, he was not sanguine about the role of poets in society. As opposed to poetry, he thought that natural sciences and mathematics could make man perfect¹⁵. Mashriqi received his grounding in Oriental languages during his childhood from his father. It was so thorough, says Mashriqi, that he was able, later, to write such books as the Hadith-ul-Quran (compiled in 1952) in the circumstances of jail, where no paper or pen was provided¹⁶. Mashriqi was not sent to Muslim educational institutions. His father was not satisfied with the Islamic content of education at such institutions. In his view, such institutions did not properly cater to the needs of Muslims: religious education, there, was nominal and was likely to erode rather than develop one's Islamic predispositions. He firmly believed that in Christian/Government institutions, Muslim students were conscious of their religion, and religiosity increased among them¹⁷.

Mashriqi's formal education traced by Hussain, is said to have started in 1897 with Mission School, Amritsar¹⁸. At the age of twelve, he passed his Middle standard (Eight years education) from the Baji Nath Public School and earned a scholarship. In 1902 he won the Jubilee scholarship, when he did his Matriculation from Government High School Amritsar. Then he joined Church Mission College where he completed his F.A. in 1904. In spite of his father's friendship with Syed Ahmad Khan, Mashriqi was not sent to

Aligarh: after his F.A. he was sent to Forman Christian College, Lahore. The University of Punjab granted him the B.A. degree in 1906 and, in a matter of eight months, he gained his Master's in Mathematics, setting a new record in the University. Mashriqi performed even more brilliantly at the Christ's College, Cambridge which he joined in 1907. He passed four triposes: in 1909 he earned first class in Mathematics. In 1911 he attempted two triposes, gaining first class in Oriental languages, and third class in Natural Sciences. In 1912 he passed Mechanical Sciences Tripos in second class. Normally, to pass four degrees, required a period of twelve years. With his unique achievements at Cambridge, Mashriqi won several scholarships including the Foundation scholarship in 1908, Bachelor Scholarship in June 1909 and Syed Mahmood Scholarship in 1911. The last one was "reserved for a very outstanding Indian student studying in England and making some prominent contribution in the Oriental studies and languages¹⁹". Mashriqi's successes were noticed by several leading British journals and newspapers including The Times, The Mirror, Cambridge Daily News, Westminster Gazette, The Star, the Evening News (London), and the Yorkshire Post. The Westminster Gazette (London) was somewhat stingy when it wrote on 12 June, 1912: "A brilliant Indian scholar, Inayatullah Khan, who today passed, besides his three other triposes another tripose is one of the most distinguished Indian ever seen up"²⁰. The Cambridge Daily News of the same day was fairer: "...Inayatullah Khan of Christ's College... proved himself the best all-round Indian student ever at

Cambridge He is believed to be the first man of any nationality to obtain honours in four different Triposes"²¹.

The teachers at the Cambridge opined that Inayatullah possessed not only conspicuous ability for mathematical study and a wider knowledge of the subject but also for Oriental Languages and Natural Sciences which was considered "an exceptional equipment for any scholar". It was believed that "he carries a wide field of learning".²²

When at Cambridge, Mashriqi examined various facets of the intellectual efforts of the Western world during the preceding centuries. In his view, Francis Bacon's thought signified the turning point in the Western attitude towards Nature and its various phenomena, resulting in Europe's supremacy in the realm of science, accompanied by their industrial and political power. Bacon's Advancement of learning was first published in 1605, and New Atlantis in 1627²³. They were published together in 1906 in the World Classics, just one year before Mashriqi entered Cambridge. In the preface, Thomas Case tried to bring out "the maturity, the comprehensiveness, and universality"²⁴ of Bacon's philosophy. Mashriqi seems to have been influenced by Bacon in many of his ideas. Like Mashriqi, Bacon held that a man could not "search too far in the book of God's word or in the book of God's works, and that the further he studies Nature the nearer he comes to God"²⁵. According to him, a superficial knowledge of philosophy might incline the mind of man to atheism, but a deeper probe would "bring the mind back to religion". Bacon argued that when a man "passeth

on further, and seeth the dependence of causes, and the works of providence, he will easily believe that the highest link of nature's chain must needs be tied to the foot of Jupiter's chair"²⁶.

Bacon gives a saying from Jesus Christ: "You err, not knowing the scriptures, nor the power of God". Bacon interprets that Jesus suggests study of two 'books' to free man from error- "scriptures revealing the will of God" and " the creatures expressing His powers"²⁷. Bacon regards the latter i.e. the study of works of God as a key to understanding the scriptures. Study of nature will not only add to true understanding of the scriptures, but will also, and chiefly, draw men "into a due meditation of the omnipotency of God, which is signed and engraven upon h[H]is works"²⁸. Bacon believed that certain portions of scriptures were scientific in character. In the case of Book of Job he thought that "if it be resolved with diligence, it will be found pregnant and swelling with natural philosophy; as for example, cosmography, and the roundness of the world,... wherein the pensileness of the earth, the pole of the north, and the finiteness or convexity of heaven are manifestly touched"²⁹. Francis Bacon's Novum Organon seemed to Mashriqi a book of outstanding importance; it put the West on the path of studying nature. Progress in science led to industrial development and acquisition of political power³⁰.

At the Christ's College had studied, some decades ago, the celebrated author of The Origin of Species, Charles Darwin. To Mashriqi, Darwin had demonstrated that struggle and effort

constituted the basis of every form of existence and survival. Darwin, wrote Mashriqi in 1924, provided an irrefutable proof of the Theory of Evolution and had, "to some extent uncovered the principle of the fall and rise of human societies which have not been available anywhere except in the Revealed Books, particularly the Quran"³¹. Mashriqi studied the theory of evolution, examining various facets. At the same time, Mashriqi was enabled to see religion and religious scriptures in the light of science. In this he was helped by some of his outstanding teachers at Cambridge who included Arthur Eddington and James Jeans. The former published his Space, Time and Gravitation in 1920 the Nature of the Physical world in 1928, Science and the Unseen world in 1929 and New Pathways in Science in 1933. Jeans published his The Mysterious Universe in 1930, The New Background of Science in 1933 and Physics and Philosophy in 1943. Both the authors were described as 'idealists', who presented their views in a manner that "reduces them to the level of revivalist preachers"³². Mashriqi was invited to tea by Jeans and the teacher and the student engaged themselves in discussions about the 'awesomeness of the universe' with implications for believers about the Creator of the universe: such believers would always fear God and that would be reflected in their day-to-day conduct³³.

In a document written a few months before his death, Mashriqi reveals that he wished to write something about Islam in 1913, just after his return from England³⁴. The probable subject was to be the decline of Muslims. Apparently, he did not pursue it. But this

admission gives us a big clue to Mashriqi's state of mind, and justifies our looking at pre-1913 condition of Muslims.

Almost coinciding with Mashriqi's stay in Cambridge, Muslim affairs began to take a serious turn towards decline. Outside the Subcontinent, Iran came under Western influence, the constitutional revolution of 1905 notwithstanding. The Ottoman Empire became a target of the West, and various European powers began to plan its further conquest/partition its areas³⁵. Bulgaria seceded from the Empire and under European pressure Turkey recognized her independence in 1909. About the same time, important areas of Balkan states, like Bosnia and Herzegovina, fell to the Austria-Hungary domination. French entered Morrocco in 1911. In the same year Italy invaded Libya and annexed Tripoli. Mashriqi was still at Cambridge when, in 1912, four Balkan^{League} states, namely, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, ^{and Greece} with British connivance, declared war on Turkey.

In India, during Mashriqi's stay at Cambridge, many Muslim leaders came to hold the view that they could not trust the British in their resistance against possible Hindu domination³⁶. Annulment of partition of Bengal in 1911 was a striking instance of the ineffectiveness and helplessness of Muslims of the subcontinent. Further frustrations were generated by the Government's refusal to establish a Muslim University at Aligarh and by the emotional shock of demolition of a mosque, apparently to facilitate the construction of a road. It was in this atmosphere that Mashriqi wished to write about the decline of Muslims.

Mashriqi did not write anything on the subject; his

postponement, it seems, was occasioned by pursuit of suitable service. Contrary to young Indians' ambition to compete for Indian Civil ~~the Indian Educational~~ Service (I.C.S) job, he joined the newly founded Islamia College, Peshawar, as Vice Principal and Professor of Mathematics(41). After serving in ^{some} other positions in the Education Department/service, he eventually accepted the Headmastership of Government High School, Peshawar. Just four days before Mashriqi took over his new job, the Muslims observed the Khilafat(Caliphate) day on 17 October 1919, with the suspension of business, fasting and prayers. He was sympathetic with the Khilafat movement leadership but he only watched the movement, keenly³⁷. He also observed the enthusiasm as well as the end, which was fruitless. An offshoot of the Khilafat was the Hijrat (migration) movement, given call to by religious leaders that Muslims should not live under infidel, British rule. Hundreds of families sold the land and property cheaply, settled up their worldly affairs, placed their wives and children in carts, and departed in the direction of Khyber Pass and Afghanistan. Afghan authorities stopped the influx, the tide of emigration ebbed slowly but the roads from Peshawar to Kabul was strewn with graves of old men, women and children. The returning 'migrants' found themselves homeless and penniless, their property sold earlier only for the fifth of its value was in the hands of others. A large number perished through exhaustion or disease³⁸.

For Mashriqi, the Khilafat and Hijrat movements in the Indo-Pak subcontinent represented both futility of such unorganized

attempts, and Muslims' vivid failures. To him it had become clear that Muslim Ummah had touched such depths of moral degradation where none of its action or programmes could achieve its goal³⁹. The Turkish Committee of Union and Progress could not flourish in spite of high aims; Wahhabi and Jihad movement in Arabia and India respectively, Mehdi's emergence in the Sudan could not prove to be lasting. Abduh's political preaching failed to strike root in Egypt. Mutinous upheaval in the subcontinent and introduction of Majlis-i-shura in Iran, 'though important and all-embracing revolution', did not come to fruition. And Mashriqi wrote sorrowfully: "every effort that Muslims make to attain their objective eventually comes to naught; every plan that they initiate for their betterment ends in futility"⁴⁰; In 1920 he seriously set to work on the diagnosis of Muslims' conditions and the possible cure. The result of his thinking was published in 1924 in the form of Tazkirah.

Mashriqi's diagnosis about Muslims' decline was that "mental confusion and the dreadful monster of internal disruption and dissipation utterly undermine their power of action, and deep sense of frustration had overwhelmed them, completely destroying their faith in their destiny"⁴¹.

When the Nehru Report of 1928 refused to give Muslims the safeguards they were demanding, and practically all Muslim organizations were in disarray, if they had not by then disappeared from the scene. Under the circumstances, Mashriqi wrote his Isharat to tell Muslims that they still had potential to organize

themselves into a ruling community⁴². The book provided basis for the Khaksar Movement which Mashriqi founded in 1931. Work of the movement was conceived in terms of the decalogue. Members were to devote two hours daily for exercises comprising 15 minutes for the evening prayers, half an hour for military drill (carrying spade in place of gun) and an hour and quarter for social service irrespective of caste, creed and colour. The whole exercise was to be performed collectively under the command of a common leader known as salar. The members were to have a badge with the word Akhuwwat meaning universal brotherhood. The spade signified humbleness, service and manual labour. The exercise embodied a number of the elements of the decalogue: Prayers, discipline under a commander and service to others. Praying behind a leader, itself, signified belief in the Unity of God, discipline, physical exercise, and interaction leading to brotherhood among persons involved. The Movement began to flourish. According to one writer, "Muslim youngmen thronged to Khaksar Headquarters"⁴³.

Apart from Isharat members of the movement were fed on the weekly al-Islah, which Mashriqi started in 1934. A series of articles written in answer to many critics were put together in the form of a book titled Qaul-i-Faisal, published in 1935. Qual-i-Faisal (the Decisive Word) was the most courageous exposition of Islam, an attack on the lesser religious leaders (maulvis or prayer leaders in local mosques). It also presented an affront to the British saying that there could be no Islam if it was not paramount.

From 1935 to 1939, the Khaksar Movement came to be involved in intra-communal and inter-communal issues in India⁴⁴. Mashriqi once described such issues as 'dirty politics'⁴⁵. Specifically, the involvement related to Shaheed Ganj Mosque issue between Muslims and non-Muslims and Shia-Sunni issue in the United Provinces (U.P.). Khaksar Movement participated in the both and earned some reputation as a result.

The functioning of Congress Ministries during 1937-39 awakened Muslims to the danger of becoming a permanent minority in the Indian subcontinent. In 1939, Mashriqi wrote his Aksariat Ya Khoon,⁴⁶ setting out the principle that the criterion of becoming rulers was sacrifice for the homeland. The Pamphlet was banned alongwith para-military marches by Khaksar Movement. All this eventuated in the 19 March clash between Khaksar and police just a few days before the famous Lahore (Pakistan) Revolution was passed. Many Khaksar lost their lives in the encounter, many more were put in jails. Khaksar's sacrifices contributed to the enhancing of Quaid-i-Azam's stature vis-a-vis Sir Sikandar Hayat, the then Punjab premier and trusted man of the British. The central government and almost all the provincial governments in India decided to ban the Khaksar Movement. Mashriqi himself was put in a Madras jail.

When he was freed in 1942, things had changed a lot. Muslim League had won the hearts of most Muslims on the basis of Lahore Resolution demanding separate country for Muslims. Mashriqi agreed with demand for Pakistan but he was of the view that the issue be

settled with the Congress. Any other way for the creation of Pakistan was sure to lead to communal violence, bloodshed and loss of human life. Mashriqi's role to bring the Congress and the Muslim League together to resolve the issue was not whole-heartedly accepted by either party. Later, Mashriqi took quite seriously the British challenge to Indian leadership to prepare an agreed constitution for India. He set himself to the task and prepared the Constitution of Free India⁴⁷. The constitution was his platform during the 1945 elections. It provided for a united India but stipulated a province's right for secession at any time after five years of independence of India. Thereby, it also provided for realization of Pakistan as well.

Mashriqi disbanded his Khaksar Movement in June 1947. When partition and independence came to be agreed upon by the League and the Congress; After the creation of Pakistan, Mashriqi established Islam League apparently to keep the nation militarily alert. He spoke against corruption in the Muslim League government on account of which he was sent to jail in January 1951 and was released in July 1952. While in jail he prepared a letter to scientists of the world, asking them to take control of government in their countries, set the mankind on proper path of prosperity and further human evolution. During the first half of 1950s Mashriqi authored several books of poetry and prose. Three books of poetry were published in 1952. Hadith-ul-Quran, an important book on the interpretation of the Quran, was also published in 1952. During the 50s, Mashriqi espoused the problem of Kashmir and intermittently

took part in debates on public issues and his speeches were printed. In 1957, he was jailed on suspicion of Dr. Khan Sahib's murder. He was released from jail without the charge being established. By then Mashriqi's health had deteriorated and he died in 1963 after a protracted illness.

Mashriqi's original problem was to explain the decline of Muslims as a leading power in the world. In the early centuries of their history, Muslims gained phenomenal ascendancy. Their living Faith in the Unity of God and practice of other principles of the decalogue inherent in such faith, resulted in the expansion of Islam. With Godly actions of theirs, members of the early Islamic community attracted peoples of other races and countries to God's message creating conditions for the unification of mankind. At one time, Muslim rule spanned the three great continents of Asia, Africa and Europe. By the beginning of the twentieth century they had "been caught in a vortex⁴ continuing decline ... dragging themselves to utter annihilation and certain death"⁴⁸.

In studying the Muslim decline, Mashriqi generalizes the problem; he does not look simply at the fall of Muslim power. He takes into account all nations of the world and theorizes about the rise and fall of any nation. Indeed, he goes further and thinks in terms of welfare of humanity as a whole. The Great War (1914-1918) had raised the question of survival of mankind as a species. Mashriqi's concern for the mankind was justified in view of the war toll which shocked all thinking people in the world. To Mashriqi, annihilation of the human kind seemed to be a distinct possibility.

In seeking to answer the problem so formulated Mashriqi made use of his religio-scientific training. He elaborated a view based on synthesis of religion and science, both of which were considered as weighty forces in human affairs. In rest of the chapter we will discuss the way how Mashriqi brings religion under scientific study by redefining it in terms of human conduct relevant to durable and prosperous polity. This will be followed by a discussion of the two groups that Mashriqi thought could bring about change by taking his view of religion seriously.

Religion, according to Mashriqi, was "the greatest of all that is believed and practiced in the world"⁴⁹. Rituals, sacrifices, offerings, alms, pilgrimages, prayers, donations etc, were continuing mysteries of religious practices and customs; they were taken for granted by followers of various religions prevalent in the world. Overwhelming majority of people felt no need to understand the mystery of the ongoing religious practices. Not only the common man, but the learned and wise also participated in rituals, without much analysis. One and all considered rituals as a 'vital purpose of their life'. Indeed, says Mashriqi:

In the entire history of man's presumption and belief, in fact, in much of what constitutes an account of his struggle and action, Religion alone is that persuasive and quiet catalyst the amazing influence of which is visible almost on every individual. And, Religion, too, is such an undebatable, unarguable, and unceasing heritage of man that every body consider that his inherent right to keep it in unquestioned custody⁵⁰.

Science had come to assume the status of a powerful social force during the nineteenth century; utilitarian applications of scientific knowledge led to the production of such magnificent

results in practical life as thousands of miles of railway track, millions of yards of cloth, unlimited steam power, iron and steel machinery, devices for instant communication, and multiplication of innumerable conveniences for the benefit of mankind. They all struck the imagination so forcibly as to make any question of the scientific assumption look like superstitious folly. Mashriqi was convinced that with the development of scientific knowledge mankind came to draw firm conclusion and were led to "new openings to power"⁵¹. It was on the theoretical front that science was even more relevant to his purposes: science had begun to win consensus of ever increasing number of people on many contested issues. Science could create unanimity as to its findings, its 'truths'. Mashriqi noted that "Human beings were unanimous on the facts of mathematics". There was, according to him, not even an iota of difference on any of its propositions. Regarding the findings of physics, the whole world eventually became unanimous on the orbital motion of the earth. Thus "knowledge everywhere gives birth to unity and consensus, security and peace, effort and action . It disarms everybody; when it takes birth, conflict becomes impossible, doubt is rendered inconceivable, inaction is unlikely"⁵². Knowledge of scientific laws, e.g., the law of gravitation acted to end many quarrels among people. This was so because, said Mashriqi, "all have seen the reality with their own eyes; because every body experiences them every moment and in every state"⁵³. In every domain of research and inquiry effect of science was a powerful corrector of human actions and opinions acting every

where "to integrate, to narrow down the dividing gulf and, by evolving a common basis, to enforce a universal agreement"⁵⁴. The results that science reaches, in its systematic endeavour to discover truths are used in the service of prediction and control and gain objectivity. People every where can agree upon such results and such truths.

If the characterization of science was correct, and it was largely believed to be so, then science could help in solving the most important problem faced in the study of religions. The problem, of course, was that the Universality of religious devotions and rituals, was matched by equally universal disagreement on the nature of religion. It had not been possible, moaned Mashriqi, "to find an irrefutable and unanimous agreement even about the Being of ~~G~~od and His real Will"⁵⁵. Indeed, there was no sign of decrease in mutual difference among Hindus, Budhists, Christians and Muslims, "every man considering his ^{own} ~~won~~ Faith true and the rest a mere falsity"⁵⁶. There was the universal conflict, negating the claim of all religions to possess any truth. The universality of religion with its 'murderous mutual conflicts'⁵⁷, presented a great problem. "Much of the bloodshed in the world, its horrifying wars, its great conflicts and massacres were attributed to differences in faith. Often a people did massacre another because it had a different religion, because it professed a different faith, worshiped another god, believed in a different prophet"⁵⁸. To Mashriqi, such a state of affairs was not in the interest of mankind. He thought it was of universal importance to

seek solution to the problem. In this connection he raised certain questions: Why did religion, which should unite men, divide them instead? Why did not the claimed all-embracing nature of religious truth, bring people round to a common reality?

In what precise manner could science help? It is important to ask this question because in Mashriqi's own estimation, some of the conclusions reached by scientific study were partial, or at least, misleading in their application. This was particularly true of the concept of evolution. According to Mashriqi, Darwin's theory of evolution contained some positive points. The theory was taken to have made clear that in the survival struggle of living creatures, physical force or aggressive power is not enough for the stability of the species. The real secret of its security and survival lies in its 'fitness' and 'capability'⁵⁹. In Mashriqi's view, 'whichever species faced the obstacles of nature with 'vigour and perseverance...and grappled with every opposing force, that alone is 'fit' in the nature's terminology, that alone is the inheritor of the earth and the wielder of power, and that alone is progressive, stable and truly powerful. Had this not been the case, the huge mammoth, and the enormous python which had so extensive a population in the prehistoric (Pleistocene) ages, could have assumed full authority over the earth leaving not an inch of land for man'⁶⁰. The theory exerted negative influence leading the Western nations to "believe that 'fitness' signifies only strength and material force... oblivious of the spiritual potential of individuals and the sky shattering power of the culture of their

mind"⁶¹. In Mashriqi's view, Germany's 'militarism' and 'Britain's piratical lust for land'⁶² were manifestations of Darwin's theory of 'natural selection' and 'survival of the fittest'. The Western scientists seemed to be fully satisfied that Darwin had given the decisive verdict' regarding survival and prosperity of communities: that "only that community is ensured survival which was 'Fit', only that is stable which excels in the ceaseless economic struggle, and is free from fear and perils as long as it can maintain this excellence"⁶³. Consequently "the entire Western civilization began to show signs of animosity, barbarism, savagery and cultural degeneration"⁶⁴. In defining 'fitness' in materialistic terms, the Western thinkers had come to accept natural inclinations of "inferior species as a correct clue to the science of human conduct"⁶⁵. They made the 'blunders' of excluding the "Will of the Wilful God and man's own free will"⁶⁶ in understanding the historical situations. Where force was deemed necessary for social stability, "utmost purification of mind would also be important to sustain such force"⁶⁷.

With such controversial results and developments in the scientific realm, science could still help, and this was because of the scientific method. The essence of science as a factor in society consisted in the use of scientific procedures. According to Mashriqi, science accords status of knowledge to anything which is evidenced by the ear, the eye and the human mind which, when satisfied, would put at ease a man's inquisitiveness. Science, that is, was based on observation as well as use of reason⁶⁸.

Bacon's criticism of the state of scientific knowledge and scientific procedure followed by seekers of knowledge, could not be lost upon Mashriqi, and could be easily applied to conditions in the Muslim world since the early Muslim advances in science and philosophy; science, as it existed during Bacon's times, stood in the way of the advancement of learning and of civilization and needed to be swept away along with its disputations and verbiages. In the Advancement of learning, ^{he} undertook a destructive attack on the most of the Medieval and Renaissance science which was philological⁶⁹. Instead of observing and measuring physical, chemical and biological and other processes at first hand, writers compiled treatises out of existing books. In Bacon's view, if science were to grow again, two factors were crucial. (i) observation, carried out by each scientist for himself and recorded in the simplest, least ambiguous language and (ii) experiment, the controlled investigation of nature according to fully programmed and repeatable patterns. Mashriqi notes that as it developed through history, the ordinary procedure of scientific work has come to consist in the formation of hypothesis, which are submitted to evidence/experiments, are confirmed or rejected, as the case might be, leading to new/revised theories and new hypotheses⁷⁰. When Mashriqi wrote his Tazkirah, materialism had received its greatest blows, chiefly at the hands of Einstein matter had come to be viewed as a system of interrelated events; the solidity of matter was gone⁷¹. "The whole universe", in Mashriqi's words is "thus resolved into electrons, the

unsubstantial 'bricks' which are united to build up this gigantic perceptual Cosmos"⁷². Man had come to find out that "what appears to be very substantial and objective is really made up of what is altogether unsubstantial, without any form. In other words, the material of the structure of the Universe was immaterial, the character of which is electric and only mathematically definable or specifiable"⁷³.

The 20th century modifications in the conception of science tended to make application of scientific method, Possible to the study of multiplicity of religious faiths.

Given the universal importance of, and equally universal quarrels in, the realm of religion, the problem for Mashriqi was to establish the 'religious truth', the 'common reality', on which mankind could agree. In his attempt to find an answer, Mashriqi undertook to study religions on the model of science. That is, he adopted the scientific method as the criterion for judging the truth or otherwise of claims of different religions. In the process, he redefines religion as universal message of God and not in terms of rituals which, he thinks, are latter day accretions introduced by mutually contending followers of various prophets⁷⁴. He also redefines role of the scientist by criticizing the scientists' self conception as a misconception⁷⁵.

For Mashriqi, religion means word of God, 'Dean', a way of life, preached by prophets to be the way which can produce and maintain a durable and prosperous society. Guidance on matters pertaining to man's welfare and happiness on earth was considered

desirable and was to be provided by the Creator. The sacred books carry a promise to man, that instruction about his proper conduct on earth would be forthcoming in that prophets raised from amongst themselves would present a model of proper human conduct. Men could emulate such model for their own good and welfare. Prophets would be human, not superhuman beings and would deliver the Creator's message to mankind as to how it could flourish. Mashriqi was convinced that the various Prophets, wherefrom they came, brought the same message, a message for the good of man himself⁷⁶. The religion was concerned with:

How the children of Adam should live in the world; what this ignorant and unwise creation should do in contrast to other animal species; how should it conduct itself; what is it that will, in this perpetual struggle for existence, grant PEACE to the human race, ensure its security and evolution, survival and stability⁷⁷.

Religion consisted of principles concerned with 'rise and fall of nations'. It was one and the same message brought by the prophets. Mashriqi was convinced that unanimity among mankind could be re-created by showing that Religion was knowledge, was truth, indeed one truth. Right thinking persons could see for themselves, that "a stream of UNITY of message runs through all the existing scripture, even in their mutilated forms"⁷⁸. All implied the same objective and goal and the same directive, though forms and practices differed in many cases. Mashriqi was convinced that if there had arisen any difference in the application of the divine directive, "it is merely a difference of view point of the shade of the picture; it is certainly not the difference of mind's vision"⁷⁹.

All prophets had the knowledge of the same directive, the same law. "Their attention was focussed on that law, that fundamental truth, that Religion of Nature which everywhere ensures Peace--the peace of communities and tribes, of homes and individuals"⁸⁰. This means that mankind's religion is one, and consists in man's correct course of conduct in the world. For Mashriqi, it was man's "bounden duty to comprehend the Immutable Law which governs the rise and fall of nations. The knowledge of this alone constitutes Science of Religions; it is this course which is every body's urgent need. The sense of good and bad, true and false, right and wrong, developed in man only through revelation. The collective virtues and 'fitness' of action, are derived from these teachings of prophets;" And Mashriqi continues: "The principles of survival and stability which today are assiduously pursued by all progressive nations are the remnants of this supreme science"⁸¹.

Prophets have exerted amazing influence on the mankind and it is still being felt with all its intensity. A thinking person must recognize the truth and depth of knowledge and action connected with prophetic teachings with an open heart. The knowledge imparted by them must be entertained as the certain basis for knowledge about human society. True, religious differences did rent humanity apart, but that is the result of men's own rebellion among themselves and self conceit and obstinacy. "Prophets came to make their nations victorious and dominant. Prophet brought knowledge, science; they brought the science of rule. With knowledge and

rule, they brought the big news of a good and durable life on earth"⁸².

Mashriqi believes that all Prophets, without any exception, came to establish peace among the people which they were sent to lead. They brought knowledge on the basis of which durable rule could be established. In the vocabulary of the Quran, they brought the 'Big Tiding'⁸³---knowledge on which everlasting rule could be built. Prophets brought the tidings of unbroken enjoyment of peace if people acted on principles preached by them. They proclaimed that prolonged enjoyment of earthly paradise depended on action the sure knowledge of which they had brought. Such action would ensure everlasting enjoyment of 'heavenly' existence on earth. Universal Peace and prosperity depended upon man's obedience to God's Laws. Mashriqi illustrates from the Quran. A famous example is Moses⁸⁴ who preached establishment of peace to Pharaoh, emphasizing that obedience to God's Law would furnish him with prolonged prosperity and perpetuation in rule. Mashriqi argues that disobedience by Pharaoh resulted in disinheritance of supremacy and rule and enjoyment of worldly pleasures, Pharaoh's Kingship and sovereignty went to ruins. His place was taken over by the Israelites, a race which by then had come to act in accordance with God's Law preached by Moses and promotive of man's fitness to rule on earth.

Mashriqi impresses on scientists their responsibility to society and, ultimately, to mankind as such. He puts a straight question to the scientists in the very beginning of Tazkirah, asking:

Is it virtuous for man to discover everything in the world, and after examining its internal structure and formation define new course of action for himself but really a great sin to know whether in this boundless expanse and world's amazing drama of struggle and strife man himself is acting correctly or incorrectly, is he heading towards destruction or security, what precisely should be his collective course of conduct, how should he emerge victorious in this struggle as a species⁸⁵?

Mashriqi asserts that study of nature had created large measure of consensus about the work of God. But such a consensus was wanting in the case of Word of God. Nevertheless, consensus was important in that field as well. Religion was concerned with man's conduct and it was very necessary to build consensus with regard to religious ideas. In spite of the vital necessity of consensus with regard to word of God, religion was being neglected by scientists; they must study religion scientifically and reach consensus on the basis of knowledge so acquired.

Scientific study of religion would be possible when it is conceived as basically a system governing the rise and decline of nations. So conceptualized, religion must be as infallible as science in its methods and results. Various prophets wherefrom they came, brought the same message, teaching man the proper way to live on earth. The prophets indicated to man the course to collective survival, stating and explaining principles governing the rise and fall of nations. Prophets gave man the 'Word of God'.

Based on his extensive study of other scriptures and intensive study of the Quran, Mashriqi announced ten principles governing prosperity of societies and durability of polities. He addressed both the religious leaders, particularly Muslims, and the scientific community to give heed to his ideas. Mashriqi's dispute with Muslim thinkers was that they ignored the universalist aspect of Islam - teachings of Islam for building durable rule covering all mankind. While the spirit of the Quranic message pertained to efforts for building a durable rule wherein peace and prosperity were guaranteed, Muslim thinkers, losing sight of such vision, concentrated on theological aspect and led people to sectarianism

rather than unity⁸⁶. For Mashriqi Quranic teachings were mainly concerned with durable rule wherein individual and collective regeneration was basic to a successful rule. Mashriqi shifted the emphasis in the study of the Quran from matters theological to matters socio-political --- man's conduct in society, particularly a peaceful, prosperous society.

In Mashriqi's view, this was the religion, the way, of the prophet of Islam and all the prophets that ever brought God's message to mankind. It was action on some portions of God's comprehensive message that certain nations on earth had been the true picture of a good nation described in the Quran as those 'heavy on their enemies but merciful among themselves'⁸⁷. Such nations regarded the inheritance of the earth as the only objective and target of man's action. Trying to imitate God in his qualities of Power and Domination, they themselves were in search of power and honour. Indeed, forgetting the narrow sectarian differences they were adopting and acting upon the real religion which meant acting upon principles promotive of mutual unity and, thereby, power to overcome all obstacles against acquisition of universal domination--- unification of mankind. This vision of Islam, complained Mashriqi, had been dimmed by short-sighted interpretations by many Muslim leaders.

In the enterprise of understanding the religion, he wanted the scientists to study religion and decide whether religion was for the good of mankind, or, if not, it should be discarded altogether. Prophets got their knowledge through a unique sense of understanding; In Mashriqi's words, they attained a "total view of the universe by intense meditation and deep thought, broad outlook and lofty vision; They got it by climbing to the high altar of learning and the supreme horizon of perception, by lifting themselves several stages above the earth, rather by reaching the observatories of stars; ~~May~~, they got it from Heaven and its Dweller, God Almighty! They acquired it through revelation, humility and passion, meditation and communion"⁸⁸.

Mashriqi's charge against Western scientists is that they

have not properly examined the phenomenon of Prophethood. According to him, it originates in intense mediation/concentration on observed events, issues forth in a message based on conviction born of knowledge. Such Prophethood founds a society based on knowledge claimed, and taken by people, to be certain. On such certain principles, durable nations are raised. Western thinkers are taking model from the study of nature (the work of God) and ignoring the tremendous contribution made by Prophets claiming inspiration embodying the Word of God whereby conduct appropriate to establishment and maintenance of peace was inculcated among a large number of people⁸⁹.

Western thinkers were concentrating on the study of nature to the exclusion of the study of political achievements of prophets, who claimed to have received revelation, and on which they apparently built peaceful, prosperous societies. 'Word of God' was a proper field for study with regard to man and society. Also West had adopted Value Relativism in its approach to the study of various socio-cultural and political groups. Mashriqi's thrust was on value Universalism; to him, Quran was the most upto date 'and undefiled version of God's revelation to man. Mashriqi is charging the Western thinkers with deliberate omission ignoring of the relevance of revealed religion to the formation of peaceful and prosperous societies. Whatever the shape of religion as faith, as 'knower of nature' a scientist cannot but admit that the objective of the various Prophet^s was to teach the nations in which they were raised the principle to establish durable and prosperous polities. Western scientists had not been able to unravel "the secret that without a single exception, each Prophet had put, during his life time, his community on the path to power and peace, lifted it from the depths of degradation and stagnation, and elevated it to the high pinnacle of eagerness and security. This had been Sole purpose of their mission and only to achieve this they made supreme efforts"⁹⁰.

Mashriqi asks some rhetorical but nevertheless pertinent questions: "Were all those giants and leaders of mankind, God

forbid, liars, impostors and idiots, who, after lifelong effort and action, put human beings on the right course, who were so resolute that they offered their heads instead of giving up their mission? Was all that they created a network of fraud and deception to trap people? Were they under such an illusion that in deception they lived, in deception they preached, in deception they lifted human communities to immense heights of peace and prosperity, and in deception they died? These questions were of such a nature that they should have drawn the immediate attention of the Western scientists to the essence of the Message and this was real temptation of knowing the Revelation"⁹¹.

According to Mashriqi, it was reasonably clear that in every age, the contemporary nation of every prophet considered his teachings to be true, logical, beneficial, manifest and irrefutable. Such teachings appeared to them "more shining and glaring even than the rays of the sun and the light of the moon"⁹².

Mashriqi did appreciate the problems involved in the scientific study of religion. There were two obvious ones, namely the multiplicity of (ritualistic) religions and the multiplicity of extant scriptures. Both of them involved conflicts. For Mashriqi they were non-problems in that they had been created by different groups of men themselves⁹³. Successive followers of prophets would forget the teachings brought to them. Thus knowledge given to them would be turned into ignorance. Different groups would come up with different interpretations, giving rise to sectarianism. Sects so formed would claim to be religions. In Mashriqi's view, religion has been the same message brought again and again by different prophets, with minimal variations in rituals and institutions. If we accept Mashriqi's interpretation that religion is concerned with the good of man brought successively by prophets to remove accretions introduced by people in earlier prophetic messages, then the problem of multiplicity of religion vanishes.

Regarding the multiplicity of scriptures Mashriqi has an answer inter-related with the multiplicity of sects/religions. Emergence of sects went with distortion of texts of scriptures⁹⁴.

Non-availability of authentic texts of revealed books was something well-known, and Mashriqi noted the evidence to that effect. "According to the admissions of jews and the christian themselves" notes Mashriqi "their Holy Books have been tempered with, and what exists in them now is not all that Moses and Christ said"⁹⁵. At another place he writes, "Old Testament Psalms and Bible are all in their present form, translated versions, and even their original language is not known. And the intractable confusion that results from a translation, particularly from literal translation, presents a formidable hurdle in reaching the real purpose of the revelation"⁹⁶. It also seems that a number of documents claimed to have been revealed ones have vanished over time. In many cases, meanings and motives have been distorted and words have been changed. "Error of transcription, ignorance of meanings, personal motives and interests, ravages of time etc; have all contributed to their distortion"⁹⁷. Scientists' claim about the non-availability of authentic revealed books is admitted but to only this extent. Mashriqi emphasizes that scientists should realize their responsibility of attending to the original, revealed message. According to him, revelation with the same message continued till the last edition was given to the prophet of Islam. "The Quran of the Muslims", he says, "is the only sacred Book preserved intact. Muhammad [Peace be upon him], to whom the Quran is said to have been revealed was the last of the long series of Divine Messengers; he has been the only Messenger whose life is known in almost every detail"⁹⁸.

Mashriqi was convinced that man had not committed the "grievous offence of textual change at least in the case of this book"⁹⁹. Words of the Quran were "exactly and precisely the same", and the book should represent all revelation. On the basis of textual authenticity, the Quran was in a position to give a final and divine verdict on an issue where none of the heavenly books, in their present form, were in a position to do. In that capacity, it could testify all that is today common in the various revealed books. And according to Mashriqi, "this rare book is priceless and

extremely valuable in elevating Religion to the level of Science. The searcher of truth is very lucky that he has at his disposal at least one Book which is claimed to have been directly revealed by God, and which is undefiled and wholly pure"¹⁰⁰. According to Mashriqi, all divine books revealed only a "portion or a few portions of the Providential Law and the Religion of Nature"¹⁰¹. The Quran being the upto-date edition of revelation to man contains God's message in entirety. "There is no department of human sociology and culture, worldly pleasure and peace, scientific advancement and growth, practical dominance and initiative, for whose realization and perpetuation it [the Quran] does not give complete and meaningful indications"¹⁰². The Quran is held to be a true guide for man at every stage of civilization, every pace of culture, and every step of progress. Its foremost objective is COLLECTIVE REFORMATION of human societies, alongwith programme of individual welfare. It is in the light of the Quran that Mashriqi builds his views on the nature of man suggesting human dignity to be the most comprehensive aspect in understanding human values and institutions. Mashriqi claims to be the first one, after early Muslims, to attempt to raise the religion of Islam to the status of knowledge, science. In his Tazkirah he tried to explain how the Quran presented a Universal law of rise and fall applicable to all nations. Previous religions also brought similar message, in accordance with human consciousness then attained by the people concerned; Islam's message, however, was the most comprehensive message, and the Quran itself staked the claim that it was knowledge, science.

Mashriqi attempted to vindicate the claim holding that Western science, in spite of the strength and power it had bestowed upon European nations, was in no way comparable to the knowledge impartable by the Quran. Mashriqi argues for the superiority of the knowledge derived from the Quran over the knowledge derived by Western nations from the investigation of nature¹⁰³. We can draw, he maintains, fruitful conclusions from stories of prophets in the Quran. The Quranic verses explaining what happened in remote

history should not be seen in 'legalistic', 'religious' terms of the bygone times. On the other hand, they should be viewed in the perspective of present times. Scientists, who had known nature from the close were equipped to undertake a more objective study of various religions than were non-scientists. Mashriqi was convinced that "some day West will have to postpone the scrutiny of the Work of God and undertake the study of the WORD OF GOD"¹⁰⁴. Proper attention to the Word of God was likely to remove their perplexity, indecision and doubt. The wrong concept of 'fitness' and survival based mainly on the notion of physical strength would "undergo repeated corrections and evolve in fullness; most of the social and cultural principles formulated in the light of their knowledge of Nature will receive surprising corroboration" from scriptures, mainly the Quran. "With the study of Word of God, scientists will form correct estimate of the KNOWLEDGE of Prophets; they will have precise and conclusive information about their own misguidedness; they will get divine and authoritative testimony of their rightmindedness"¹⁰⁵.

Mashriqi invited scientists to use the method which they themselves approved of, namely, the scientific method, in order to establish validity or otherwise of religion as such. He tried to meet scientists' well known discomfort over textual distortions in scriptures by arguing for the undefiled character of the Quran. Mashriqi remains in the Islamic and, to a great extent, Eastern tradition of not separating religion from politics. On the other hand, religion is identified with creation of a culture which is promotive of political durability and prosperity. Such view of religion and culture assumes a world-view- a view about man and his organized life. We take up that subject in the next chapter.

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24. Thomas Case, "Preface", in Francis Bacon, The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis (London : Henry Milford, Oxford University Press 1906), viii-xii.
25. Ibid., p.10-11.
26. Ibid., p.11.
27. Ibid., p.46.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., p.43.
30. Francis Bacon Novum Organum, trans. R. Ellis and James Spedding (London : George Routledge and Sons, n.d) p.60.
31. Mashriqi, PROLEGOMENA, op.cit., p.11 and Mashriqi, Quran and Evolution, ed. Shabbir Hussain (Islamabad : El-Mashriqi Foundation, 1987), p.49.
32. C.E.M.Joad, Philosophical Aspects of Modern Science (London: Unwin, 1963) pp.12 and 38. L. Susan Stebbing, Philosophy and the Physicists (Harmondsworth, England : Penguin Books, 1944), p.13.
33. Mashriqi, Hadith-ul-Quran, op.cit., p.273.
34. Mashriqi, 'SUPPLEMENT' Tazkira, Vol. 2, op.cit.
35. Abdul Hamid, Muslim Separatism (Lahore : Oxford University Press, 1967), p.111.

36. Mashriqi did deserve the job, but this must have been facilitated by his brother-in law, Khan Bahadur Mirza Muhammad Ali who was serving in the Department of Education in the NWFP. see Malik, op.cit., p. 28.
37. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, Modern Islam in India (1946; rpt. Lahore : sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1969), p.288.
38. M. Naeem Qureshi, "The Ullama' of British India and the Hijrat of 1920", Modern Asian Studies, 13, 1 (1979), pp. 57-58.
39. Mashriqi Quran and Evolution, op. cit. This quotation and others occur on pp. 31-32.
40. Ibid., p.32.
41. Ibid.
42. Mashriqi, Isharat, op.cit. pp.48-56.
43. Seth, op.cit., p.28.
44. Shaheed Ganj Mosque case was a dispute between Muslims and Sikhs regarding the possession of a place claimed by each party to have a communal-religious significance. The inter-communal problems arose in which Khaksar Played a part for Muslims. For a note on the case, see Jinnah, The Nation's Voice, op.cit., pp. 539-540.
45. Hussain, op.cit., p.105.
46. Aksariyat Ya Khoon (Majority vs. Blood). 1939; RPT. Rawalpindi: Taragh-e-Islam Foundation, n.d.
47. The Constitution of Free India 1946 A.C. op. cit.
48. Mashriqi, Quran and Evolution, op.cit., p.31.
49. Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, op.cit., p.26.
50. Ibid.
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52. Ibid., p.29.
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78. Ibid., p.58.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid., p.59.

81. Ibid., p.32.
82. Mashriqi, 'PREFACE' op.cit., p.66.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, op.cit. p.38.
86. Mashriqi, 'PREFACE,,', op.cit., p.77.
87. From the last verse of chapter 48 of the Quran.
88. Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, op.cit., p.32.
89. Ibid., p.122.
90. Ibid., pp.49-50.
91. Ibid., p.42.
92. Ibid., p.46.
93. Ibid., p.45.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid., p.70.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., p.47.
98. Ibid; pp. 60-61.
99. Ibid., p.60.
100. Ibid.
101. Ibid., p.61.
102. Ibid.
103. Mashriqi, Hadith-ul-Quran, op.cit., p.6.
104. Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, op.cit., p.55.
105. Ibid.

CHAPTER 2
HUMAN NATURE:
MASHRIQI'S WORLD VIEW

In the previous chapter we attempted to show how Mashriqi's religious family background and scientific education provided him bases to construct religio--scientific synthesis for the realization of his political motives--reassertion of Muslims as a world force and/or promotion of unity among mankind. For Mashriqi, reassertion of Muslims and unity among mankind were two faces of the same coin. Muslims, when they follow the Quranic teachings, would, in effect, be following the real teachings of religion as such. The Quran in his view was the uptodate edition of God's message to mankind. Unity among mankind could be promoted on the basis of religions unity. In order to recreate religious unity, investigators needed an undistorted version of God's message. And there was universal agreement that no distortion had occurred in the text of the Quran. The Quran could represent all revelation throughout history and testing the Quran on scientific principles would be testing the religion as such. The synthesis was based on two propositions; one was that scientific method was responsible for attaining certain knowledge of Nature. The second proposition emphasized that religion being God's message regarding man's conduct on earth could be studied scientifically; people acting on principles given by God would achieve prosperity and political durability, while those disobeying such principles would suffer adversity and diminution of power and influence.

This chapter seeks to elaborate Mashriqi's world-view, particularly the nature of man as pivotal to the study of his political thought. It may be said that, in general, Mashriqi attempts to give due place to each element of the triad--God, Nature and Man. This is in contradistinction to the mainstream Western thought. There, each element "has at one time or another been given a central place and the other two places of lesser importance"¹. For example, the Greeks gave the central place to Nature, which was thought to be 'all-inclusive'²; Man and God were parts of nature, Man enjoying somewhat more importance than God as object of study. During the medieval Christian period, God being the largest, man was considered a small part of God; "Nature was even smaller and stood not only below but outside the picture"³. During the age of science the relative positions changed again. Once more, Nature became central, man increased in size and God came to occupy a smaller position, and mainly outside the picture. God lost importance on the supposition that "His existence was not susceptible of investigation"⁴.

In Mashriqi's world-view, none of the three is out of the picture. God is the Creator of the universe-- and is proud of His creation⁵. It contains valuable secrets knowledge of which puts tremendous power in the hands of the knower. Man has evolved out of Nature but possesses something which the former lacks, namely, the will. Willfulness places man in a category different from the nature, man out-grows her: indeed, it is he who has been made to know and master the invisible powers of nature⁶. Man's reach to God

is through discovering the mysteries of nature. And such relationship among the triad has implications for Mashriqi's political thought that we discuss in chapters 3-6.

In Mashriqi's view God is the Creator of both the will-less Universe and the wilful Man. Mashriqi does not mention the three philosophical arguments regarding the existence of God, though he uses some aspects of those arguments in his discussion⁷. Among the three arguments, ontological argument (first stated by St. Anslem) defined 'God as that than which no greater can be conceived'. Leibnitz reformulated it saying: If the concept of God exists, then God himself must exist. Kant argued against this view, holding that the ontological argument consisted of two independent propositions, one, that God is the greatest possible object of thought -- and the other, that God must exist. The second one does not follow from the first because one can credit a concept with any number of attributes except that of existence.

The cosmological argument or argument from the first causes, states that as every effect must have a cause, there must have been a first cause to produce the effect of the universe. God, by definition, is this first cause, the prime-mover. Restating this argument, Leibnitz held that every thing in the world is contingent upon something else. Existence of the Universe must have a reason external to itself. This external reason is God. The teleological argument (or argument from design) asserts that the degree of complexity and the organization of the matter and energy which constitutes the universe and particularly that which constitutes

life can only be accounted for by the existence of a Supreme Intelligence; it could not have occurred by chance.

Mashriqi mentions two theories about the origin of the Universe, namely, the 'electron' theory and the 'divine-creation' or God-theory⁸. However, he justifies the latter emphasizing the preeminent role of God as the Creator and Lord of all that exists. This theory is contained in what he calls 'sacred History',⁹ available in religious scriptures of mankind. According to this the whole world has been created and set in function by One Supreme Being, who possesses infinite power and wisdom. For such Divine Personality the English language uses the word God. Of course, an outstanding example from the scriptural literature is the Book of Genesis, the first book of the Old Testament: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.... And God made two great lights ... he made the stars also.... And God said, let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life And God said, let Us make man in Our image after Our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth on earth"¹⁰.

Following lines are reproduced (in translation) from the Quran, the youngest of the well-known scriptures, to show the Omnipotence of God Almighty:

Art thou not aware that before God Prostrate themselves [things and beings] that are in the heavens and all that are on earth--the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the mountains, and the trees and the beasts? And many human beings [submit to God consciously], whereas many [others, having defied Him,] will inevitably have to suffer.

Art thou not aware that it is God whose limitless glory all

[creatures] that are in the heavens and on earth extol, even the birds as they spread out their wings? Each [of them] knows indeed how to pray unto and to glorify Him; and God has full knowledge of, all that they do, for, God's is the dominion over the heavens and the earth...¹¹

Man has given his utmost thought to understand God. Mashriqi elaborates on the 'electron theory' to justify the existence of God. Apparently the theory is founded on the notion denying any role to God as the Designer of the universe. In this connection the ultimate cause is described in terms of an automatic 'Big Bang'. In his effort to explain the tangible and perceptual world around him, man has subjected the visible, sensuous reality to close examination. Mashriqi believes that the more the man has delved into the nature of the universe the nearer has he come to the God-theory of it¹². He argued in 1934, that notion of electrons as the building 'bricks' of the universe has reduced the material structure of the universe into something altogether 'unsubstantial', immaterial, "the character of which is electric and only mathematically definable or specifiable"¹³. Also "the electron is a unit of force or energy but without the power or will to act of itself, particularly an 'inert' particle, a lifeless 'brick' is a mere potentiality, unless placed in certain relation with other of its kind"¹⁴. By itself, an electron is of no value. Its value and activity depend upon its being placed in certain relationship with others of its kind arranged in certain ways. It is then that life and activity springs up. To postulate an Omnipotent and Perfect Mind or Personality, therefore, is absolutely necessary. "An electron is such an extremely fine

electric particle, more ethereal than objective, that it might be considered bordering upon spiritual, more kindred to Him than the creatures, and is, therefore, quickened by His breath and becomes whatever He orders or wills"15.

In Mashriqi's view, if the 'electron theory' as the basis of substance or matter^{is} to be replaced in future by some other theory it was likely^{to} be in the same direction. The "new basis would probably be more ethereal and spiritual than the electron"16. But whatever its nature, it would be something inert, devoid of intelligence and self-determination; and in order to explain the nature of the perceptual world we would still be in need of postulating an All-knowing and All-powerful Agent to build up the cosmos and set it in function.

In Mashriqi's view, man's belief in God is something very natural. That is, it is quite human to consider about the why and how of universe, of this earth, of ourselves and all our co-inhabitants here, animals, vegetables, stones, clay etc., and to find an adequate explanation of them. As these things do exist in reality "we humanly conclude that there must be personality, conceived as far as possible in human terms and measures, having intelligence, will, power, force, inventiveness, creativeness, etc. We possess such characteristics and we humanly conclude that they are possessed to a far immeasurably greater extent and degree by the personality who must be the maker, author, creator of all that we perceive," and Mashriqi continues: "It is human to judge and decide that such personality is not human being and it is human

to conclude that it must be by far higher than, and different from, man"¹⁷. Mashriqi further opines that chain of human thoughts about explanation of universe tend to compel man to the conclusion of the existence of the Supreme powerful personality. " As all our human attempts to define and understand that personality have utterly failed, human mind naturally assumes the attitude of belief in his existence"¹⁸.

Under the general impact of serious conflict between religion and science since the 18th¹⁹ century and maturity of thought stressing economic and psycho-social determinants of human behaviour in the twentieth century²⁰, there happened a complete abstinence from any reference to religion as a potential source of scientific knowledge. Among scientists of the 20th century God's reality could not be demonstrated in terms of scientific method, nor could it be denied; However, it came to be excluded from consideration. Even so, many scholars tended to hold that non-existence of God was more likely than his existence. But Brecht correctly holds that both the alternatives should be given equal weight: scientifically, neither is held capable of proof and neither should be said to have higher likelihood of occurrence²¹. On the contrary, Brecht is in favour of treating God's existence as an hypothesis because such procedure would correct a methodological mistake of treating a 'bracketed God' as an 'eliminated' God²². Further, the hypothesis that God exists may lead scholars to direct their attention to facts and interrelations that are otherwise overlooked, e.g. 'the limits of psychoanalysis', 'the inner moral

logic of historical events' and 'the ultimate frustrations of many human ambitions', etc. Brecht believes that "speculative reflections on such problems may stimulate research on the influence of humility, of truthfulness, and of genuine friendliness in human relations"²³. He concludes that "scientific reflections on the divine alternative and its implications are by no means foredoomed to infertility"²⁴.

Mashriqi noted in his 1934 article that advocates of scientific method had not provided the human mind with full and final explanation of the existence of the Universe²⁵. In his view, science in its analysis of matter, had reached its ultimate, indivisible anatomical unit. This was the inert electron and its 'vital' force had yet to be discovered. The 'inner life' of nature was a mystery in the sense that ordinary and apparent means of obtaining knowledge fail to find out why and how of the functional activity of the universe²⁶. Mashriqi suggested that solution to the mystery required "a change of mental attitude and personal condition"²⁷. The new attitude would give up disbelief or nonbelief and adopt 'absolute' belief and "sincere conviction in the existence of God"²⁸. Mashriqi believed that scientists had come to see that there was no inconsistency between the divine-creation theory and "any true findings of science and its continuation of explanatory efforts"²⁹. Fuller grasp of their own views and practical implications therefrom could convert scientists to divine-creation theory³⁰.

In Mashriqi's view, " The honest workers of science know the

natural limitations of man's powers, and must after all admit that the Unknown Author of the Universe is Unknowable, [and] that their minutest investigation of the properties of matter (electron, etc.) and of the cause and causes of all its manifestations will bring to them an immense wealth of the sources of comfort and enjoyment in this earthly life, but nothing more"³¹. That is, scientific investigation can lead to God only by inference, in which a further step to believe in His existence is required. It is man's own decision based on statements of the past prophets in scriptures and "the most wonderful objective Universe we directly perceive, and from which we infer the existence of its Creator". For Mashriqi,³² "there is no alternative for a thinking man but to believe that there must, and, therefore does exist the Living Supreme Author and Creator of the Universe, and the Creator of Mankind"³³. The "microscopic orderliness of structure in Nature" revealed by science has prompted John Macmurry to write: "If the argument from design in nature to the existence of God ever had any cogency, the advance of science has increased its cogency a thousandfold"; even if the "breathtaking, intricate and orderly structure" does not prove the existence of God, he adds: "it makes the belief in God a reasonable belief"³⁴. And this is the crux of Mashriqi's argument as well.

In the Quran, Nature has been consistently described as reality. During their decline, says Mashriqi, Muslims, came to treat it as something 'unreal, perishable. This attitude led them to believe in half truths and guesses: they lost the path of

science³⁵. Nature is the only truth, the only reality created by God. Mashriqi cites a number of verses from the Quran. For example, it is said:

He [God] has created the heavens and the earth in accordance with truth³⁶.

Mashriqi further holds that God takes pride in the creation of Nature as, for example, it is pronounced in the Quran:

Do they not look at the sky above them-- how we have built it and made it beautiful and free of all fault? And the earth-- we have spread it wide, and set upon it mountains firm, and caused it to bring forth plants of all beautiful kinds, thus offering an insight and a reminder unto every human being who willingly turns unto God³⁷.

Mashriqi terms the universe "this Colossal Workhouse", and describes it as functioning on perfect justice and equity. He is impressed by the "vigor and harmony, courage and confidence, might and majesty" with which it operates. Whatever happens in it, does so in "orderliness and method"³⁸.

Mashriqi is against those who refuse to ponder over the nature and significance of the universe, wrongly believing that exploration is not necessary for 'happy life' on earth. To Mashriqi, human thought can soar very high and no 'wanton limitation' should be put on it. A man who thus limits his power of thought is nature's culprit and nature will punish him accordingly³⁹. It is man's duty to think over this problem seriously, rationally and intelligently and arrive at definite conclusions. The Quran holds:

And [thus it is:] we have not created heaven and earth and all that is between them without meaning and purpose, as is the



surmise of those who are bent on denying the truth; but then woe from the fire [of hell] unto all who are bent on denying the truth⁴⁰.

In Mashriqi's perspective, and in this he closely follows the Quranic view, the Universe has not been created in vain; It has a serious end. It is to serve as a great arena for man's endeavours to attain two inter-related objectives: discovery of forces of nature progressively leading towards final conquest of nature, and enhancement of human faculties and possible bodily transformation to accord with man's meeting with God⁴¹. Man's good actions, consisting in capturing the forces of nature and putting them to use in the embellishment of the wide earth, will turn the earth into heaven. Efforts at discovering nature will be well rewarded: the rewards will be unending and pleasing to man's eye. Discoveries of forces of nature and inventions based on them would surely please man's eyes. The condition for such rewards is, initially, not to consider the nature as something useless, merely 'worldly', but to take it as something purposeful and then endeavour to make use of its hidden forces and resources. Mashriqi says that God praises the actions of prophets which they undertook to discover truths from the book of nature and put them in use for establishing durable and prosperous kingdoms⁴². He thinks it significant that the Quran constantly mentions the political and civilizational level attained by nations at the early stages of intellectual development in the world. The significance consists in the fact that prophets exhibited the highest degree of knowledge of nature attained till then, and it was the scientific knowledge which was

the basis of their durable kingdoms. The Quran places relatively permanent objective before mankind in the proposition that durable rule depends upon knowledge, upon science. According to Mashriqi, scientific knowledge and conquest of nature, should result in the highest development of human faculties of seeing, hearing and reasoning to the extent that man is placed near to God, i.e., comes to meet him face-to-face. Therefore, there is a permanent objective before mankind and it is man's meeting with God. If people can develop and maintain a passion for such a meeting, they will be ever ready to exert themselves for the conquest of nature, thereby transforming themselves even bodily. The Quran pronounces:

[And remember that] it is God who has created the heavens and the earth and who sends down water from the sky and thereby brings forth [all manner] of fruits for your sustenance; and who has made subservient to you ships so that they may sail the sea at His behest; and He has made the rivers subservient [to His laws, so that they be of use] to you. and has made the sun and the moon, both of them constant upon their courses, subservient [to His laws so that they be of use] to you; and has made the night and the day subservient [to His laws, so that they be of use] to you⁴³.

Almost all classical commentators agree that God's having made the natural phenomena 'subservient' to man is a metaphor for having enabled man to derive lasting benefit from them⁴⁴. Mashriqi, true to his views on evolution, has extended the idea of conquest of the universe to include the possibility of man's bodily transformation.

In accordance with Quranic teachings, Mashriqi believed that the universe was to function only till an appointed time⁴⁵. Man has not been given the knowledge of termination of the universe. Mashriqi, however, put forth the view that the end was likely to

come at the point when Man will pass the test i.e. he will, after capturing the universe, be united with the God-head. For this view, Mashriqi adduces some evidence from the Quranic verses⁴⁶. Man's success in reaching back to his origin, will result in a "universewide handshake with Man"⁴⁷. If Man fails the test i.e., he fails to capture the universe, then God may bring forth a new type of being⁴⁸. Such concept is also taken from the Quran. In the first case, fate of the universe is bound up with the fate of man. In the second case, fate of the universe is not clear: There is the pronouncement of a new being to replace man but nothing is said about the Universe.

The third element in the triad is man.

Mashriqi takes man to be an evolved being, a product of evolution whereby he inherits some of the animal characteristics⁴⁹. But man's mental and spiritual superiority over other beings impart dignity to man. Human dignity, Mashriqi thinks, is enhanced when we take into account human destiny: Evolution was not to stop with man. Further evolution was to occur and man was destined to conquer the universe and, ultimately, meet the Lord, face to face. The eventual meeting of man with God would involve fundamental transformation in man which could come about if man builds institutions catering to the dignity of man. Human dignity involves a number of levels: (1) the national level in which no nation should imperialize other nations; (2) the communal level in which communities within a large political unit be able to live according to their beliefs; (3) the individual level wherein a person's

fundamental rights to life, liberty and property should not be violated; (4) the international level where dignity of mankind be preserved. Dignity at international level would involve promotion of unity of mankind.

The four levels of human dignity will be treated in the next four chapters (3-6). In the remaining pages of this chapter, we analyze the concepts of human dignity and human destiny as the core concepts of Mashriqi's view of man. Specifically, we look at what Mashriqi regards man's weaknesses as a product of evolution and his strengths based on complete break with the animal world, making man a moral being, responsible for his salvation in the world and in the hereafter.

Theorists of politics, consciously or unconsciously, form a conception of human nature. Indeed, Political theory must begin with some coherent view of psychology of man, at least insofar as it affects his moral aims and conduct in society. Mashriqi was very much conscious of his view of man, a view which does not seem to reflect any influence of multiplicity of European ideas about man and society current during the first quarter of the 20th century. According to some serious students of human society, during that period, there was no longer any clear and consistent idea of man⁵⁰. The growing multiplicity of the particular sciences engaged in the study of man had much confused and obscured rather than elucidated the concept of man. Some important changes took place in the mental and moral atmosphere during last quarter of the nineteenth century and first quarter of the twentieth century. For example, Marx's

historical theory asserted the primary significance of technological and economic forces on social forms⁵¹; productive developments altered men and their communities, as well as nature. The theory of dialectical materialism asserted that the act of reproduction changed not only the objective conditions, e.g; transforming village into town, but also man's nature changed with it, giving rise to new qualities, new powers, new conceptions and new modes of intercourse and all this, in Marx's terminology, inevitably!

Anthropology was busy in discovering the nature of man in terms of the primitive, focussing on the origin and development of man in the world and in society. This involved studying man as a member of animal kingdom with data from geology, biology and archeology⁵². It also studied man's behaviour as a member of primitive society, hoping to learn "what man is like, what his potentialities are, what limitations he is subject to, what he is"⁵³. Psychology, particularly, the Freudian one, attempted to study man in terms of the subconscious trying to show man as the product of emotional strains and stresses of childhood and adolescence. That is, in Europe, man came to be seen something helpless in the grip of dialectical materialist philosophy of history, his environment and his subconscious motivation⁵⁴.

Mashriqi does not make any mention of developments in European philosophy and social sciences. Iqbal noted Mashriqi's lack of knowledge of Western philosophy⁵⁵. Mashriqi does refer to a number of ancient and modern European thinkers, including Aristotle⁵⁶. But

such references usually occur in his discussion of science and the scientific method. It is interesting to note that Mashriqi never mentions Hobbes, Locke or Mill, although Mill had to his credit some considerable work on the scientific method⁵⁷. Similarly, there is no reference to either Marx, Durkheim, Weber, Freud, or even such British writers as MacDougall and Wallas whose books were published in England when Mashriqi was at Cambridge⁵⁸. Mashriqi claims to derive his views from his study of the scriptures, particularly the Quran which he quotes so copiously from. At the same time, he believed man to have evolved which belief, he also justifies, apart from his training in science, on the basis of Quranic pronouncements⁵⁹. Mashriqi chides Muslims because in his view the Quran itself says that Man was created through the evolution of lesser creatures, and that a very long time was consumed in the finalization of this 'immense revolution'⁶⁰, so much so that even transformation of one species into the next stage took thousands of years. In this connection, Mashriqi cites some Quranic verses:

"O ye people! God is great, Lord of all, Who created the wondrous complex of the heavens and the earth in six 'days' of long duration, and, established on the Throne of Authority is running this supreme administration. O ye human beings! Ye have none besides Him to protect or intercede for you. His authority is operative everywhere. His law extends to every place. Will ye not then receive admonition from this wondrous world and its supreme administration.

He is that Supreme Creator and Doer of Great Deeds that He floats the idea of a Universe-wide law, an immense plan, a supreme decision or an affair from the heavens to the earth. Then this affair, on account of its immensity

and vastness, slowly and quietly evolves towards His Will over a long period which may be more than a thousand years of human reckoning or even more, and on the basis of its inevitable effectiveness reaches the climax⁶¹.

The Quran holds man to have been created in the best conformation, i.e. endowed with all the positive qualities, physical as well as mental, corresponding to the functions which man is meant to perform⁶². The concept of best conformation is related to the Quranic statement that every thing which God creates is 'formed in accordance with what it is meant to be'⁶³. Again, the Quran raises question about man's origin: Has there [not] been an endless span of time before man [appeared- a time] when he was not yet a thing to be thought of"⁶⁴? And answers that for a long time, man was non-existent, not even a hypothetical concept⁶⁵. Man has humble origin--- dust and water. But then, Adam was taught 'knowledge of all the names' i.e. man was endowed with the faculty of logical definition and, thus of conceptual thinking. The ability to think conceptually was something which made man superior to most other creatures, including 'angels', 'the invisible powers appointed by God'. In the words of the Quran: "When man was fully formed and God's spirit breathed into him angels were to fall down before him in prostration, which all of them did, save the Satan".⁶⁶ 'Children of Adam' were "conferred dignity... and We have borne them over land and sea, and provided for them sustenance out of the good things of life, and favour them far above most of Our creation"⁶⁷. God intended to establish Man as "successor on earth", a "vice-gerent"⁶⁸. The verse denotes man's rightful supremacy on earth, most suitably rendered by the expression "he shall inherit

the earth"⁶⁹, i.e. man will be given possession of it. In terms of evolutionary process, man is "to ascend from one stage to the next"⁷⁰. Man could acquire powers becoming 'all-listening' and 'all-seeing'⁷¹, the two powers being important attributes of God, Himself.

Acquisition of the attributes of 'all-listening' and 'all-seeing' would be the height of human dignity.

Mashriqi posits that man's field of activity has three divisions or spheres which overlap but nonetheless can be felt or considered separately⁷². They are physical, psychical and spiritual spheres. The physical sphere is solely concerned with men's material environments. Man in this sphere is a mere animal, a strong healthy and powerful animal, and exists to provide himself with whatever is necessary for his maintenance and material development like other animals, he is born and dies. As an animal he came in the world, struggles to live, and, in spite of his strong wish to live on, death comes to him in one form or another, and puts an end to him. But exercise of man's energies need not be a mere brute force. Man's physical sphere will not be brutish; because connected with the psychical sphere, it is determined and guided by man's reason and judgement, which means exercise of man's mind.

With the endowment of human brain, difference between man and animal is not merely superficial and functional related to difference in apparent physical structure but is radical. Development of brain creates a crucial distinction between man and

animal in that the human brain is the seat of all subjective senses, the most elaborate mental manipulations required for thought and its expression, for the determination and control of all movements, for passions and their control, and for the spiritual sense and the working of the spiritual faculty. Man possesses the ability to receive sensations, to perceive them and to distinguish between the various simple sensations of which they are composed. With his observational and mental power he can recognize, combine, and compare such combinations. He can apprehend what sensations have in common and the ways in which they differ. He can attach signs to them all in order to recognize them more easily and to allow for the ready production of new combinations.

Mashriqi holds that man is the only being that possesses organs suitable for the study and understanding of nature⁷³. His capability to understand nature gives him the possibility of control over the forces of nature. In the language of the Quran, all invisible forces, except Satan, prostrated before Adam when they were so directed by God Almighty⁷⁴. It is only for man that the universe has any meaning; only man can wonder at it and, after investigation, can extract some principles/directions from it. This is because man is in possession of intellectual and observational powers. Animals and all other lesser creations have no consciousness of the fact of nature. On the other hand, all that is in the universe has been made subservient to God's law, for man's use. Man has to acquire knowledge of the universe and use it for his own good⁷⁵.

Everything in the heavens and in the earth is under God's command to reward man according to his effort in pursuing the task of conquest of nature. The neglectful ones would be punished, the good ones would be given high rewards. The Quranic pronouncement is: Indeed, unto God belongs all that is in the heavens and all that is on earth: and so He will reward those who do evil in accordance with what they did, and will reward those who do good with ultimate good⁷⁶. Mashriqi saw a connection between durable rule and scientific knowledge. Such connection contained the secret of man's perpetual and ever-increasing progress. Man held a lofty position among the evolved beings. Features distinguishing man from animal, such as reason, discernment of good and evil, the power of formation and expression of thought, knowledge and the capacity of increasing it, capacity for almost unlimited improvement, resourcefulness, sociality, morality, religious and spiritual senses, etc, are self-evident hall-marks of human superiority over other creatures⁷⁷.

In the study of the work of God, can be found God's commands/signs directed unto man. That is, study of nature can provide knowledge of God's commands, God's programme, and principles of right conduct to be followed by man in his private and public life. The important thing to note is that such Quranic verses are addressed to all men, all nations, and are not restricted to any particular group, Muslims, for example⁷⁸. The condition for knowing God's purposes and ways is that such groups/nations should take pains in studying the nature and they

will be rewarded in the form of discoveries and control over forces of nature. In the words of the Quran:

Behold, in the heavens as well as on earth there are indeed messages for all who [are willing to believe];

And in your own nature, and in [that of] all the animals which He scatters [over the earth] there are messages for people who are endowed with [inner] certainty.

And in the succession of night and day and in the means of subsistence which God sends down from the skies giving life thereby to the earth after it had been lifeless, and to the change of winds: [in all those] there are messages for people who use their reason⁷⁹.

The Quran contains directives regarding man's exertions and work and toil, which are derivable from the study of nature's law. It is man's duty to exert himself, acquire knowledge of such directives and strengthen his powers. Whatever God has created in the heavens and on earth has been made subservient to man, to be conquered, captured and made use of. In addition, close study of natural phenomena and use thereof can furnish man with principles~~39~~ and godly command for his conduct in life.

The most important feature of man's understanding of nature is that it can aid in understanding God; correct thinking about His ways, His attributes and His nature can come from the study of His creations⁸⁰. The spiritual sphere is felt and known only through mental contemplation and is absolutely free from any concrete element, although its perception arises from the contemplation of the concrete by human mind; the mind examines the concrete, thinks how and why it appeared in the world and, aided by introspection, is led to postulate the existence of a super human or super natural

agency or power. Such an agency would have caused or created the universe and all its contents.

Mashriqi has emphasized the spiritual aspect in that it connects man "with spiritual realities, introduces him to an endless field for reflective activities, makes him think of the Universe as a gigantic organic mechanism, created, set in function, regulated and controlled by an Omnipotent Being, Who is the source of all power and force and the Author of all life, Who determines and ordains their various manifestations, which we sum up into the Universe or Cosmos".⁸¹

Mashriqi regards spiritual aspect to be man's crucial characteristic distinguishing him from the rest of organisms. Without the spiritual aspect, says Mashriqi, "man would have no object of life beyond that of a superior animal, who governs and rules in this world, and who struggles therein for the sole purpose of establishing and enjoying that superiority"⁸². It is the spiritual aspect which raises man far above a rational living organism, which, as a matter of fact, constitutes the essence, the soul, of all life, and which bestows upon man the privilege of immortality, in spite of man's physical mortality. The spiritual aspect takes evolution as a great purposeful force, gradually elevating man, purging him of evil, and exalting him to become fit for the holy Presence of the Creator. The Islamic doctrine of God-men relationship is summarized in the Quranic description of man as both the servant and vicegerent of God; it is the primordial nature of man to be passive vis-a-vis God, to be recipient of His

blessings and grace and to be active towards the world, as God's representative to His creation. Man is thus able to wield power over creation but must also care for all the creatures who are His creatures and not man's"⁸³.

Man is thus seen as a God's creation very much separate and different from His all other creations. Emphasizing man as a supreme creation, Mashriqi cites a number of verses from the Quran. Mashriqi dwells on the fact that man has been endowed with "reason, discernment, definite ways of forming and expressing his thought, with other powers and qualities higher and nobler than any living being we know of, the most wonderful of all the wondrous specimens of organic life"⁸⁴. Iqbal has expressed this view in his theory of ego. In his view, only that is real which is directly conscious of its own reality. Further, it is man in whom egohood has reached its relative perfection. The result is that man occupies a genuine place in the heart of Divine creative energy, thereby possessing a much higher degree of reality than things around him. Of all the creation of God, man "alone is capable of consciously participating in the creative life of his Maker". Indeed, Iqbal holds: "It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspirations of the universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the universe...."⁸⁵.

It has been rightly said that "The most remarkable function of human intellect is revealed in a valuational discrimination which it makes between the eternal and the transient, the ultimate and the provisional, the real and the apparent, the essential and the

accidental...."⁸⁶. This means that the human understanding or wisdom consists in a proper sense of values and the capacity to form a system of values of all human experiences. In other words, it consists in the formation of a world-view. Many thinkers hold that a fundamental impulse to reflect about the universe stirs people during these years in which they take to think independently. "Later on", says Schweitzer, we let it languish, even though feeling clearly that we thereby impoverish ourselves and become less capable of what is good". As a result, people become like "springs of water which no longer run because they have not been watched and have gradually become choked with rubbish"⁸⁷.

The higher and nobler qualities bestowed upon man make him "almost a complete little universe, a microcosm ... The most wonderful object for man's study in this world is said to be man himself"⁸⁸. That man is a microcosm is almost a universal view, particularly so in Judaeco-Christian and Islamic religious traditions. In the words of a modern Catholic thinker "man is an individual who holds himself in hand by his intelligence and his will. He exists not merely physically; there is in him a richer and nobler existence". He is "in some fashion a whole, not merely a part; he is a universe unto himself, a microcosm in which the great universe can be encompassed through knowledge"⁸⁹.

Human dignity is intimately related with man's freedom of will and action. Man's moral action would be the action determined and carried out by a person himself, without, and/or in spite of, external restraints. His will will be self-legislative. man is

free, says De Jouvenal, "in so far as the formulator of his obligations is none other than he himself. Herein resides his dignity"⁹⁰. One of Kant's ethical formula says: "Act in such a way that you always treat humanity, whether in your own person^{or} in the person of any other, ~~every one else~~, never simply as means, but always at the same time as an end"⁹¹. Keeping in view such an ideal, one can rise above the prompting of circumstances. In obeying such an imperative our will will be self-legislative, self-determined, voluntarist.

Man enjoys freedom of will. According to Mashriqi, he has the power to act and affect. To a great extent, he has the power to exercise rejection or acceptance⁹². In every problem, there is before man a method of action and he exercises his will to choose one and reject other. Thus he has full capacity of choice. It is true that people may have to resign to certain things because of pressure which may be put on them. Some people will accept the pressure whole-heartedly and act accordingly. Some may feign to act accordingly without accepting the pressure from the core of their heart i.e. without accepting legitimacy of the pressure. In both cases people have made their choices. Mashriqi holds that results are no doubt under the influence of external circumstances, but at every step, often it is in one's own hands either to abandon or to pursue, to reject or to accept, a matter. Man, that is, is free to choose but he cannot control the results of his choice. The desired result is not in his hands, simply because other people are equally free to make their choices and such choices, freely made, can come

into conflict. In the event of conflicting choices, results of the choice of a particular person will be affected. Man is responsible for the consequences of his actions in the sense that he has to face such consequences, that there will be consequences, that he cannot escape consequences, good or bad. Reactions to his actions will come from other individual/collective forces, again good or bad, helpful/unhelpful. Consequences may be of two kinds: intended and unintended. Man will be responsible for both types of consequences. He will be responsible publically i.e. there will be public reward or punishment. Man will also have private responsibility i.e. responsibility to his conscience, whether he had a good or bad intention. Goodness or badness of intentions is known only to the actor himself and to his Creator. Private reward may not be known to people at large, may not be manifested so immediately, may even survive a person's physical life, and may be instituted at his death, in the hereafter.

Man has been given dual powers i.e. to choose the right or wrong. He has been bestowed with godly attributes in that God has breathed His spirit into him⁹³. The dual power means that with proper development and inculcation man can come to assume the attributes of God.

O you who have attained to faith, if you remain conscious of God, He will endow you with a standard by which to discern the true from the false....⁹⁴

The potential to exercise freedom of will places a great responsibility on man. Man is responsible for all his actions, without anyone else being implicated as his helper. The Quran

pronounces⁹⁵: "Every human being will be held in pledge for whatever he has earned". Because of endowments, man is under test. He is endowed with powers of audition and sight and reasoning mind, and bears the burden of a tremendously great trust. All this has meant a lot of difficulty for man to live in this world. "Endowed with a vast measure of reason and will, man has landed into dreadful dilemmas, terrifying hardships, aberrations, oversights, and destructive miscalculations. Man is ever liable to erroneousness and wrongfulness"⁹⁶.

Given man's moral nature, two courses exist to ~~save~~ man from errors in his conduct. The primary one is in the individual himself. Possessing the faculties to distinguish right from wrong he can ameliorate himself. Self-amelioration is a basic possibility. Failing self-persuasion to follow right path, man can be brought by others to adopt the right course. Mashriqi was convinced that no stone should be left unturned in the task of persuading others to practice good. Indeed, he thinks that man is meliorable, that he can be persuaded to follow the right and leave the wrong. Failing self-amelioration persuasion can be used⁹⁷. Indeed, it must be used for two interrelated reasons:

1. Human dignity requires that persuasion rather than some other methods be used to bring man back to the right path, and
2. Use of persuasion will confirm an individual person's dignity, and will ^{turn} ~~invite~~ directly strengthen his self image of possessing dignity.

Mashriqi points out that those who have gone astray can be persuaded "to come back to moral life"⁹⁸. That is, man's outlook and behaviour can be modified for the better, or for that matter, for worse. In terms of goodness, Mashriqi holds the Quranic view that, in man, inhere both the tendencies--of evil and good. Man makes his choice, uses his will, but that one can persuade an evil doer to refrain from evil deeds. Such persuasion will take place on the basis of convincing the evil-doer that he was indulging in something evil. Evil will have to be shown, in terms which will be common between two interlocutors i.e. on the basis of good reasons. The good will then become something on which two or more people will have agreed.

Mashriqi is of the firm view that goodness in man can be promoted and this view of his is based on his views on evolution of man: "selfishness can be greatly eliminated from the human nature evolving towards goodness, and personal motives can be purged of cruelty as the unnecessary weapon for their achievement. Apparent harshness and cruelty of measures can be openly set apart only as merited punishment for wicked acts and evil deeds, and their exercise thus sanctioned by the common social sense of fairness and justice would become innocent and unquestionable"⁹⁹, i.e. in consonance with human dignity. Man's ameliorability-persuasibility is something mutual. Successful conduct of mutual persuasion has important ramifications in politics. It will result in mutually agreed settlement of disputes. Mashriqi even believed that good will and sufficient thought may lead to cooperative, brotherly

relations and agreement on religious beliefs.

It is in the power of man to construct socio-economic and political forms which can either avoid mistakes, or invite them. While some forms can be promotive of human dignity, others can equally be violative of it¹⁰⁰. Mashriqi believes that the Quranic teachings establish principles for the welfare of both individuals as well as societies. Indeed, in the Quranic teachings about the reform of collective conditions are implicit methods of reforms of individuals. In God's scheme, he says, human dignity is preserved by a very complex and intricate system of rewards during life on earth and in the hereafter. Individual and group actions promotive of human dignity are also actions which promote individual and social welfare, and vice-versa. Nature of human society is such that most actions of an individual have effects on the society as a whole, and progress or regress of a nation affects the individuals comprising that nation. This means that dignity of persons constituting a society will be anterior to society. World religions always contain ideas and ideals which cater to human dignity. In Maritain's Catholic framework, it would mean that "the currents of liberty and fraternity released by the Gospel, the virtues of justice and friendship sanctioned by it, the practical respect for the human person proclaimed by it, the feeling of responsibility before God required by it, as much as from him who exercises the authority as from him who is subject to it, are the internal energies pertaining to a society which is promotive of human dignity"¹⁰¹. Maritain rightly believes that thinkers of many

other religions would agree with him. Taking into account Mashriqi's tenor of thought and even specific writings it can be said with confidence that he would agree whole-heartedly with the Catholic conception. In putting emphasis on the Quran, Mashriqi talks of revelation as such: All religions believe in the dignity of the human person, in justice, in liberty, and in neighbourly love. Potentially all religious traditions can apply whatever pertains to the dignity of man in the organization of their societies.

Here we enter the realm of socio-economic and political institution in which human dignity can find expression. Taking political aspects first, we can speak of political liberties and political rights; they rest upon the postulate that human person possesses dignity and that man asks to participate actively in the life of political community. Of course, many may find it easier to renounce active participation in political life. Some may even feel happier and free from care by voluntary relinquishment from participation in public life. However, in such a case people renounce a privilege proper to their human nature, indeed, a privilege that corresponds to human dignity. This is so because "a state of civilization in which men, as individual persons, by a free choice designate those who shall hold authority, is in itself a more perfect state"¹⁰².

Probably the most fundamental political form promotive of human dignity is a people's right to give themselves the constitution and government of their own approval. All civilized

people have had a fundamental constitution, although in the past it was often more a matter of consent and tradition than of juridical institution. "A constitution juridically formulated and established, by virtue of the will of the people, corresponds to an achieved progress in the grasp of political consciousness and in political organization"¹⁰³. Mashriqi adduces verse from the Quran to demonstrate God's concern that man may not de-humanize another man, not even a prophet his followers: It is not conceivable that a human being unto whom God had granted revelation, and sound judgement and prophethood should thereafter have said unto people, "worship me beside God"¹⁰⁴.

Promotion of human dignity and elimination of unwarranted domination of man by man, would require that people be trained and prepared to become capable of both ruling and being ruled. A consequence of the value of human dignity is elimination of forcible domination of some man over others. In this notion, as in almost all of his notions, Mashriqi follows teachings of the Quran. The Quranic injunctions against forcible domination are quite strict. One aspect of God's scheme relates to belief in the hereafter wherein man is to account for his evil deeds after his death. Irrespective of the reality of the Hereafter, the psychological attitude promoted by such belief is of tremendous significance. It helps prevent one from indulging in actions violative of human dignity.

Mashriqi holds that rulers and the ruled need to be trained, and both of them need the same training¹⁰⁵. To be rulers and to be

ruled are two faces of the same coin. Those who can rule well are those who can be ruled well. Training for rulers and the ruled is same and it consists in inculcation of discipline among people--- disciplining of people's emotions. This will involve greater use of understanding the situation in a calm manner, listening to others and responding without prejudice. Training programmes may be instituted that involve alternation among people--- to be in command some times, to be under command at other times. Simultaneously, this will involve universal dissemination of information and opportunities to play roles promotive of leadership qualities and qualities to obey leaders. That is, training should be such as would promote self confidence, in which roles of leader and the led would not be seen to make much difference to the humanity and dignity of a person.

For Mashriqi moral training of individuals was crucial before such individuals could be entrusted with responsibilities concerning public affairs. Mashriqi was ready even to delay independence rather than entrust affairs of nation to men who had not been morally trained¹⁰⁶. Role in public affairs was always a moral role and would not be properly performed without moral preparation. Mashriqi's own method for moral preparation was that actual participation in acts of welfare ranging from voluntary service to clean aged people's lavatories to participation in national defence.i.e. volunteer/offer to give one's life, if needed.

Moral training imparted through simple acts of morality

creates habits which are then carried over into all private and public dealings/conduct of a person. The training not to tell a lie is probably the highest moral virtue which once attained becomes a firm basis and source of all sorts of morally good actions. Training in lesser moral virtues than truthfulness, in punctuality, for example, when once ingrained, influences a person's behaviour for the good in all sorts of other situations. According to Mashriqi the desired moral training could be achieved by imposing discipline of measured steps in drills and marches¹⁰⁷. Discipline achieved in drills would be reflected in many other walks of life e.g., respecting other people's right for turn in a queue at banks, at railway stations and at other offices, etc. Indeed, Mashriqi experimented in character formation at high school level in Peshawar and was successful in creating the habit of truthfulness among young students.

Moral training is most effective when it is imparted by example. It is, therefore, the responsibility of leadership to present an example of what they desire to see continued in their society. Indeed, it is actions of older leadership which could influence the younger generation more effectively. Youth are bound to identify themselves with national leaders and, therefore, it is a duty of the leadership to exhibit strong moral character, worthy of emulation by the youth. Mashriqi's ideas in this connection seem to have been confirmed by new writings in the ^{field} ~~field~~ of political development. Wilson writes, "those who occupy a dominant position have an additional obligation for responsibility. As controllers of

resources, coercive power and ideological authority that can affect the lives of every one, dominant individual especially must demonstrate responsibility if political patterns are to be moral in nature". Mashriqi himself says that there is no bigger and more powerful weapon for subjugated and weak nations to take up than service and virtuousness. In his opinion, "rulers have always feared righteous actions. Jesus Christ was crucified because of his extremely virtuous deeds"^{107a}¹⁰⁸.

In looking at Mashriqi's view of man we pointed out that either he was ignorant of developments in socio-economic and psychological sciences, or he was indifferent to them: there is no mention of Marx, Freud, Weber, Durkheim, etc; in his Tazkirah, nor in his other writings. But it is tempting to speculate on an answer to questions posed by twentieth-century developments in social science which apparently minimize Mashriqi's view of human dignity and morality. We note how some of the important Western thinkers, namely, Marx and Freud and, more recently, B.F. Skinner, can challenge Mashriqi's ideas on the nature of human dignity, and explore his response towards them. According to Trotsky, "man has tried stubbornly and persistently to exclude himself from science, reserving to himself special privilege in the shape of alleged intercourse with supersensory forces (religion), or with time-less moral precepts (idealism)"¹⁰⁹. Marx, says Trotsky, looks upon man as a natural link in the evolutionary process of material nature, depriving "man of these odious privileges definitely far ever"¹¹⁰. It is true that Marx was convinced that human history was governed

by laws which, like the laws which govern nature, could not be altered by the intervention of individuals actuated by this or that ideal. Historical laws of human and social development not only explained the old order, but also provided scientific recipe (immanent revolution) to attain the new order. In the case of capitalism the political economic system based on private property and maximization of profit involved, as a consequence, exploitation of labour. Such scientific views provided the comforting assurance to the proletariat that they were destined inevitably to win against the bourgeoisie.

However, as Durkheim argued "socialism was in fact 'an ideal'"¹¹¹. Marx's Capital did not maintain a wholly scientific attitude. The research was undertaken to establish the doctrine, far from the doctrine resulting from research. It was passion that inspired Marx's research. What gave birth to it and constituted its strength was the "thirst for a more perfect justice. Socialism was not a science, it was a cry of pain"¹¹².

Do Marxian laws of historical change, with the avowed method of dictatorship of the proletariat, undermine human dignity? Is there a current in Marx's thinking which suppresses the fact and value of personality in some political or social collectivity? While discussions on the issue of alienation indicate Marx's concern for the person, he neither emphasized nor fully grasped the intricacies and dimensions of what is involved in being a person. Marx's view of developmental stages following natural-social laws made Marx an optimist--sure that laws would work out the way as

propounded by him. He entertained a fundamental optimism about the possibility of realizing the ideal society through human endeavour.

While Marxist corpus on the issue of alienation indicates that Marx cares for the person, his optimism about "the human achievement of the ideal society leaves the door open to the introduction of absolute ideas about the relation of a person to his community"¹¹³. And it is here that we can introduce Mashriqi's possible response to Marx. Mashriqi, as pointed out before, believes that institutions inspired by the Quran cater to the need of both, the individual and the community. He would agree with Maritain who draws a distinction between our being individual and our being persons¹¹⁴. As individuals in a perfect community, we are subordinate to the welfare of our human group. As persons, we are beyond the claims and finality of any given set of human institutions. The thought that humanly derived laws of social change may either not create or not sustain, an ideal society, points to the need for believing the human person to be above institutional arrangements. After Marx's 'economic determinism' came Freud's Psychological determinism. It formed the basis of the conception of man presupposed by psychoanalysis¹¹⁵. It was the most formidable body of doctrine to be faced by those who believe in human free will and human dignity. Freud held that the origin and explanation of all conscious events was to be found in the unconscious. Conscious thought and desires came to be considered reflections more or less distorted and more or less sublimated, of unconscious elements in men's nature. People did not know what was

going on in the unconscious; if they knew they would not be unconscious. That is, if they had knowledge, they would be conscious. Being unconscious of our thought and desires we cannot control them.

On the basis of introspection and data from clinical studies, Freud attempted to uncover his own unconscious mental processes as well as those of his patients. The Interpretation of Dreams (1901)¹¹⁶ laid bare ~~an~~ important route to the unconscious. The Psychopathology of Everyday life¹¹⁷ reflects Freud's conviction that normal as well as abnormal psychic life is influenced by unconscious forces which can be ~~sued~~^{used} to explain such everyday occurrences as the forgetting of names and slips of the tongue.

Man's mental life was determined and determinants were discoverable. A number of Western authors have been critical of Freud's methods and findings¹¹⁸. For one thing, the clinical study began with the insane and the neurotic. The problem was seen in the abnormal magnification. But the danger in this procedure is that clinicians begin to equate their patient's diseases with normal functioning. Distinction between the normal and abnormal comes to be lost, owing to dependance on mere clinical data. To answer 'what is wrong with Psychoanalysis?', one scholar pronounced in 1953 "Psychoanalysis is unscientific"¹¹⁹. "It is only to bring to bear the traditional methods of scientific inference and experimentation that we can hope to reap all the benefit of its founder's [Freud's] genius"¹²⁰.

Freud introduced new categories e.g. death instinct and

constructive instinct in his later writings, and came to emphasize the need to save civilization by the use of human reason. Indeed, one commentator has been able to say about Freud's work: "In his respect for the dignity of his patients which made his discoveries possible, in his conviction that despite appearances all men are psychologically brothers, and in his individualism-- in all these ways it seems to me that Freud is indeed a great heir of the Enlightenment"¹²¹. Such philosophies of man as existentialism, humanism, etc. have contributed to bring into limelight man's freedom of choice, subjectivity, and moral autonomy. Emphasizing health as against psychic pathologies, scholars in these traditions hold that "encouragement of personal growth is a real possibility"¹²². This view is very much in accord with that of Mashriqi, who believes in meliorability of man, alongwith man's attitude and responsibility in public affairs.

The most recent vocal determinist is B.F. Skinner. In his view, each man is the product of certain heredity and a certain environment in which case achievement calls for no credit, and free will does not exist¹²³.

True, says Skinner, traditionally, the autonomous man possessed freedom and dignity. But now ~~physical survival~~. As such, he believes that environmental survival contingencies have taken over the functions of decision once attributed to autonomous man who perceived the world around him and acted upon it¹²⁴. The autonomous man now stands abolished. Now, he is controlled by the socio-cultural environment, largely of his own making. It is not

the person who acts upon the world, it is the world that acts upon him. Man is bound by circumstances with consequent erosion of his autonomy, freedom and dignity. Advances in technology destroy chances to be admired. Similarly, scientific analysis offers alternative explanations instead of giving credit to individuals. Thus, both the technology and analysis are said to be opposed to dignity, and such opposition is seen by Skinner to stand in way of further human achievements. In redesigning social environment, man cannot ^{act} independently; he is bound by socio-technological environment. Mashriqi's response to redesigning would be similar to the one indicated in discussion on Marx: Redesigning would affect many individuals and groups. We cannot leave some on the mercy of others. Individuals may be expected to conform to the demands of perfect redesigning, but what if the redesigning is imperfect, indeed, if it is not carried into completion! The suggestion is that individual person may be treated above the institutional experimentation. He may be treated to possess sanctity, dignity.

Mashriqi's other criticism of Skinner would be based on the idea of divine creation of the universe and, indeed, man. Skinner complains that religion itself manipulates human mind and that it should not object to manipulation of the same by other forces. There are two assumptions involved in Skinner's views: (1) that man's early socialization is something permanent. It would be fair to say that the question of man's origin is not yet settled. Mashriqi has cogently argued in favour of divine origin. Manipulation of human mind to conform to religion is therefore, the

right thing to do. Man's mind be prepared to issue in behaviour which it has been given the potentiality of, by God Himself. The religious leaders reject Skinner's views/techniques because such techniques seem to involve denial of God in the physical (and cultural) creation of man. Seen in this light, the clash between Skinner and his antagonists loses the seeming contradiction attributed by Skinner.

Skinner's view that 'manipulation' of mind is technique of inner control, seems to overemphasize effects of early socialization. While early socialization may continue to affect adult behaviour, permanence of socialization cannot be held to be true, neither on theoretical, nor on empirical, grounds. Theoretically, man endowed with rational faculty is likely to question his own behaviour when confronted with dysfunctions of such behaviour. If he still continues the behaviour in question, that would be under some explanation. This would mean that new bases for the same behaviour would have been established. Empirically, there is enough evidence that people do change their behaviour sometimes en masse. Skinner's antagonists who 'manipulate' mind may or may not have permanent successes. A person's own devices, finding bases in mental and observational faculties could beat both Skinner and his antagonists, thus vindicating human dignity and freedom.

Mashriqi's man is an ambidextrous being who is free to choose and act, although subject to results of the choices he would make.

He can better or worsen his condition by his own choices. He can create good polities in which he would flourish and he can construct unbecoming and bad institutions that would lead to his doom. In the next chapter, we discuss Mashriqi's views on how men with dignity can found a prosperous and durable people, nation, society, state.

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106. With this in view, Mashriqi opened a pick-and-pay shop for high school students. After some days, students became honest paid for what they chose to pick without any supervision.
107. Drilling was part of the daily activities of members of his reform movement. See Husain, op.cit., p. 54.
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CHAPTER - III
THE DYNAMIC NATION

In the previous chapter we looked at Mashriqi's world-view with God as Wilful Creator of the Universe as a will-less creation, and man enjoying freedom of will. Man has been endowed with the capacity to differentiate between right and wrong and can choose therefrom. With his powers of observation and intellect to discover the secrets of nature, man has the potential to be God's deputy on earth, and enjoys dignity. Such a world-view has implications for Mashriqi's political thought which are discussed in this and the subsequent chapters.

In the present one we focus on human dignity at the level of a nation. It principally comprises of an exposition of Mashriqi's concept of the 'dynamic nation' elaborating his decalogue, ten principles, factors promoting the formation of such nations. Illustrations of the concept of 'dynamic nation' are offered from the experience of the imperialist European nations and Mashriqi's Khaksar movement aimed at creating dynamism among Indian Muslims to capture power, or at least, acquire capacity to ensure their presence as a politico-cultural force. A treatment of Movements and Ideas antagonistic to Mashriqi's programme of transforming Muslims into a dynamic nation is offered in further illustration of Mashriqi's principles of building 'dynamic nations' on the basis of his decalogue.

According to Mashriqi, "Just as every living being has a natural desire to ensure racial survival and propagation of its

progeny, in the same way has been, ever since man's creation, the aim of every dynamic community to be in authority and ensure continued security"¹. In the Tazkirah, Mashriqi is mainly concerned with conditions under which a group can establish and/or enjoy self-rule, independent of, and without any interference from, other groups. He terms such a group 'a living people', 'a dynamic people', 'a living nation', 'a dynamic nation'². It may be said to be equivalent to what Etzioni has characterized as 'the active society'³. Independence would mean absence ~~physical~~ ^{physical} of both occupation as well as alien intellectual control. The self-ruling nation will establish its own institutions to give expression to its indigenous moral standards. Demand for freedom is demand for status and recognition⁴. Men profoundly need it and passionately fight for it. Urge for freedom of a group is related to solidarity, fraternity, mutual understanding, and for association on equal terms. It makes for union, closer understanding, and integration of interests. In short, it is a desire for a life of common dependence and common sacrifice. Men who fight for freedom usually fight for the right to be governed by themselves or their own representatives. They aspire to participate, or, at any rate, to believe that they are participating, in the legislature and administration of their collective lives. Men want to create conditions to live in which they are considered responsible agent, and their will is taken into consideration. Often they seek to establish such entitlement even if they are attacked and persecuted for being what they are, or for choosing as they do. People get

recognition and sense of being someone from the members of the society to which, historically, morally, economically, and perhaps ethnically, they feel that they belong. And the society which gives one identity is the society which one would like to see independent and self ruling.

The spirit of Mashriqi's views is that destruction of a nation is the destruction of its supremacy, its self-government, its self-rule⁵. Destruction may involve loss of life, loss of produce and destruction of buildings and other physical marks, but it may or may not involve destruction of individual men and women belonging to a nation. Destruction of a nation would certainly involve destruction of a nation's supremacy over a portion of earth, its self-rule. Sometime such nation may be pushed away from the country over which it had established itself, be turned into a refugee group wandering hither and thither without a place on which to live in peace under their own rule and government. Self government and external peace are fundamental characteristics of a dynamic nation. This is why the main thesis of the famous Quranic verse about inheritance of the earth (i.e. establishment of rule) is intimately related to the theme of fear of enemy and replacing/transforming such fear into security and peace by building a dynamic nation. According to the verse, security and peace would come to a nation when it establishes its own 'rule on earth'.^{5a}

Mashriqi equates domination by others with 'hellish' conditions, in that control by others is termed enslavement and 'lake of fire and brimstone'⁶. Mashriqi holds that the Quran seems

to warn people to avoid becoming enslaved or ruled by aliens, for the master nation snatches away the means of livelihood from the enslaved ones, who may never get an opportunity to regain self-rule and prosperity⁷. A wise nation would always shun coming under imperialist domination. The Imperialist masters will not only lay their hand on the more visible resources, but, on the strength of their technology, would unearth and capture mineral wealth hidden from normal view. This will impoverish the victim nation still more, leaving no chance for her improvement in future.

Mashriqi bases his views regarding foundation of self-rule on a verse from the Quran:

Those amongst you who remained steadfast in their Faith, and in addition persevered in Righteous Actions, have a promise from God Almighty that He will, of surety, grant them stability in the earth as He granted to those before them. He will establish firmly their Religion-the one He has chosen for them-and afterwards will also change their state of fear which they have from the enemy to one of security and peace. Their course of action is that they remain subservient to Me and keep on acting on My Commandments and do not associate aught with me. And those who after this security and stability deviated from the Commandments and, through misdeeds, failed to appreciate fully this supreme favour are rebellious (and entitled to collective death)⁸.

This verse, according to Mashriqi, "has decided two things; first that Faith is a pre-requisite for inheritance of the earth, or what is called survival and stability, and thus God's promise for inheritance of the earth applies only to those who possess Faith; secondly that Faith must be accompanied by 'Righteous Action'⁹. The members of whichever community possess these two qualities that alone is Aslan (Fit); such a nation alone, as did the developed nations of the past, will hold authority and remain

able on the earth as long as it has not been swayed by disruption and disbelief. The question arises about the real nature of the faith and that of Righteous Actions, which would entitle a nation to be called Aslah, or 'Fit'. This is the main theme of Tazkirah, of course, in Mashriqi's view, of the Quran. It was during the discussion of this theme that Mashriqi announced his ten principles governing the concept of survival of the fittest as operative in the world. These principles included practical acceptance of the unity of Godhead; complete unity of action and solidarity among the individuals of a nation, complete obedience by them to the directives of the leader who happens to head the nation; complete readiness to fight out its battles with sword; complete readiness to fight out its battles with money and other material resources; absolute willingness of each member of the community to migrate from his or her homeland; steadfastness of action with complete maintenance of high state of moral excellence; pursuit of knowledge of Nature and a living faith in the Day of Judgement and the actual award of reward and punishment. These principles, in his view, constituted the main weapons for a nation's survival and capability on the earth¹⁰.

Mashriqi's ten principles are reminiscent of the Biblical Ten Commandments, the Decalogue¹¹, in which God commanded the Jewish people (1) not to have other God's; (2) not to make graven images, to bow before them; (3) not to take the name of the Lord God in vain; (4) to remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy; (5) honour your parents. (6) not to kill; (7) not to commit adultery; (8) not

to steal; (9) not to bear false witness and (10) not to covet their neighbour's wife;

Mashriqi's ten principles have, indeed, been described as the "new Muslim decalogue"¹² which Mashriqi claims to have culled from revealed books, particularly from the Quran. Mashriqi challenged materialistic explanations of Europe's domination over other continents of the world. Such views of the rise of Europe centred mainly upon Darwinian ideas formulated to explain the origin of species in terms of natural selection: the well adapted species, they propounded, possessed characteristics conducive to their survival and passed on the same to their progeny. Herbert Spencer, who reached his Darwinist conclusions before Darwin's origin of the species was published, held that "stern discipline of nature" eliminated the "unfit"¹³. While this formulation had some intellectual content, many others saw in British economic and imperial power the proof of being the 'fittest'. Among those basing their ideas on such British 'facts' one could name Walter Bagehot's Physic and Politics, or Thoughts on the Application of the Principles of 'Natural Selection' and Inheritance to Political Society¹⁴. In this book, "the author's law of human progress seems to be that the strongest nations always prevail, and in certain marked peculiarities the strongest tend to be the best"¹⁵.

Darwin himself theorized that 'natural selection' accounted for organic development and that mechanism for this was the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. According to Mumford, Darwin, is understood to have emphasized the struggle

for existence to the exclusion of mutual aid. Darwinism thus "lent to the brutal assertions of class, nation and race the support of a holy scientific dogma"¹⁶. Luck, force, ruthlessness, greed were what the ruling classes took to be the secret of survival. The existence of struggle can hardly be denied, nor even the state of nature 'red in tooth and claw'. But Darwin's theory magnified these factors and helped make them "an all-sufficient explanation of the course of life"^{16a}. His theses _____ the process of natural selection, the struggle for existence, the need for adaptation _____ served to emphasize varying aspects of competition and to justify political control by a minority and the capitalist economic system.

Mashriqi defended¹⁷ Darwin's theory of evolution but gave completely different meanings to it¹⁸. Natural selection, he ~~was~~ claimed, was part of the laws of God. Functions of nature were being carried on by laws set by Him. It is He who created man as an evolved being. As the Creator, both of universe and man, it is He who knows fully the nature of man. In His providence, He has revealed His will, His guidance, to man through His prophets raised from among peoples themselves. Such prophets taught people how to build durable and prosperous societies. The revealed guidance was in addition to the God-given apparatus-----eyes, ears and reasoning mind----- the Use of such apparatus was also envisaged to lead man to derive knowledge of nature, and establish stable and prosperous society.

Keeping the Quranic teachings in view, Mashriqi emphasized

that the rise of a nation meant durability which was bound up with 'righteous' actions, and decline was connected with 'unfitness' for survival and prosperity. Mashriqi was thus able to say that there were 'natural' laws working with regard to the fate of nations.¹⁹ A nation whose members were given to undesirable practices (non-righteous actions) would not flourish and would, inevitably, suffer decline, even extinction. According to Mashriqi, it is significant that the Quran has used the word 'Istikhlaf' to make it clear that even before Islam such 'natural' instinct existed in the various peoples. God's promise with Muslims is the same promise of inheritance as had been made with the predecessor nations, and in the same way, has He repeatedly described it as 'inheritance of the earth'.²⁰

The Quran lays down a rule with regard to granting durable power to any people:

And, indeed, after having exhorted [man], We laid it down in all the books of divine wisdom that My righteous servants shall inherit the earth: herein, behold, there is a message for people who [truly] worship God²¹.

Mashriqi says that efforts at the establishment of durable rule and supremacy were not peculiar to Prophet David and Solomon. According to him, all Prophets, without any exception, worked for the establishment of durable social order, and, indeed, each one either actually lifted up his followers to a high pinnacle of peace and prosperity, or created conditions which eventually materialized in the creation of such order. Citing the example of Moses²², Mashriqi emphasizes that the Law taught to Moses was one concerned with ending the cleavage, disintegration and diaspora among the

Israelites, and taking them out of state of slavery and inertia to collective grandeur and harmony, and eventual inheritance of earth i.e. establishment of Israelites' own rule.

Mashriqi thinks that the purpose of inheriting the earth i.e. establishing supremacy and sovereignty on earth was, from the very beginning, in forefront in the work of all Prophets: all the revealed books took the establishment of durable kingdom on earth as the criterion of 'goodness and capability' of a nation. Abraham had a fervour for command and exercise of authority to the point of equating such power to capability for collective survival. The general conclusion drawn by Mashriqi is that Faith and righteous action must eventuate in establishment of rule/domination/kingdom on earth. As such, kingdom on earth was the only standard of a nations 'fitness' or capabilities emphasized in revealed books. The groups which are unable to establish their kingdoms on earth are deemed by Mashriqi not to have given evidence of their fitness/capabilities²³.

From the very beginning, the important purpose of inheritance of earth/establishment of durable domination was a preponderant outlook among all the Prophets of old. Every Prophet, throughout his life, struggled hard to impart among his followers that everlasting code, that unfailing charter of action, that science/sure knowledge the pursuit of which would result in collective survival, perpetual rule/domination/kingdom on earth. Religion brought by Prophets consisted in such charter of action; actual pursuit of it was equivalent to acceptance of religion

preached by such Prophets. This is what was meant by belief in the Prophets. Religious belief meant this belief itself i.e. it was the bounden duty of believers to act upon such things as would contribute to ~~the~~ establishment of rule/domination on earth.

Self-rule, inheritance of earth, establishment of rule/governance is critical/crucial from the Quranic point of view²⁴. It was so important that even prophets prayed to God to grant them rule over earth. Solomon prayed:

O my Sustainer, forgive me my [lapses] and bestow upon me the gift of a kingdom which may not suit anyone after me²⁵

How nations rise to power and through what delinquency in their efforts they fall and are wiped out of the face of Earth, - this, as a matter of fact, is the essence of a large part of teaching of the Quran²⁶. It were the 'righteous actions' that conferred the 'inheritance of the earth'. In this interpretation Mashriqi differs from a large body of Muslim scholars; such scholars have usually interpreted 'righteous actions' in terms of individual actions performance of which is believed to bring blessings and makes for salvation in the hereafter. While worldly blessings are also believed to flow from 'righteous actions', such beliefs are not usually analysed. As such, people at large do not exactly know the nature of worldly blessings, nor are they clear as to how to bring them about i.e. how to obtain those blessings. Mashriqi's explanation in this connection is instructive.

Mashriqi calls attention to two points regarding righteous actions. Firstly, verses relating to the righteous actions occur for about forty three times in the Quran, thirty five times in

connection with acts done collectively by a group or a nation and eight times in connection with acts performed in individual capacity²⁷. But Mashriqi holds that in the religion of Islam one can not think of an individual without thinking of him in society. Indeed, he tries to show that the Quranic verses which occur in connection with righteous actions by individuals tend to contain the notion of society as well. For example the verse^{27a}: "Whereas he who shall appear before Him as a believer who has done no righteous deeds it is they that shall have lofty stations."^{27a}
 (Emphasis added) It should be noted that the particular verse occurs very near to the story connected with the courage with which Moses took his people to safety, Pharaoh's men having to suffer indignities and losses.

Secondly, and this is very important from Mashriqi's point of view, most of the verses relating⁶ collective acts indicate that reward for righteous action is worldly prosperity. Often they bring before one's eyes the scenes characteristic of worldly kings. For example, some verses thus recount rewards for righteous actions:

[But], behold, as for those who attain to faith and do righteous deeds - verily, we do not fail to requite any who persevere in doing good: theirs shall be gardens of perpetual bliss - [gardens] through which running waters flow - wherein they will be adorned with bracelets of gold and will wear green garments of silk and brocade, [and] wherein upon couches they will recline; how excellent a recompense, and how goodly a place to rest!²⁸

What then is meant by 'Faith' and what are the 'Righteous Actions'?

Mashriqi is writing from the perspective of 'rise and fall of nations'. In this perspective he distills certain principles from

the Quranic teachings, which constitute his decalogue, ten principles. Principles comprehend the traditional 'five pillars' (Islam's basic religious principles), namely Kalima, al-Salat (praying five times a day) Siyyam (fasting during a particular month), pilgrim to Mecca and paying 'Zakat (two and a half percent of what is left of one's income during the year). Over and above those 'five pillars', Mashriqi includes Jihad (Fighting in the way of God) with sword and control over one's desires, good manners, unity among people at all levels of society (family, group, nation, even mankind), self-confidence and patient struggle to achieve one's aims.

By following the ten principles, any nation, says Mashriqi, can enjoy perpetual ascendancy and perpetual inheritance of the earth. This, according to him, is the Deen [Religion] of Islam, the 'Deen' of Nature. It was on these lines that Muslims of the early centuries acted and built a memorable rule²⁹. Theory of decalogue would say that some nations can adopt certain portions of the decalogue and may prosper for that. They may not adopt all the elements/components of the decalogue: therefore they may prosper in some aspects but may be quite stunted in other aspects. In Mashriqi's view, West had developed materially but was stunted spiritually. The East claimed spiritual elevation but, in Mashriqi's view, it was stunted in both, material as well as spiritual powers³⁰.

Principles of the decalogue can be broadly divided into two categories³¹. The first nine principles involve verbal utterances/

mental contemplation and may be seen as revealed word of God. They seem to involve initial preaching and attentive listening and obedient behaviour towards them. The tenth principle is action. To begin with, it involves investigation into the processes of nature which reveal themselves to the scientist in a piecemeal manner. It leads to discovery of laws of nature and consequent control and capture of forces of nature. We deal with first nine principles first. It will, however, help to understand Mashriqi's views better if we keep in mind that Islam for him means action. Utterance of belief not accompanied by action (implied in the belief) has no value in the eyes of God. Utterances without action in accordance with spirit of the belief so declared is not only worthless but is really hypocritical, it is even *apposed* to real faith³²; In the eyes of the Quran it is a great sin. And Mashriqi adduces a number of verses from the Quran to prove his point about such hypocrisy and sinfulness³³. On the contrary, the one who is involved in action, one who is acting upon some or the other command/directive of God, putting his body in trouble, he is the one who really believes; he is demonstrating his firm belief by his action. He can really claim that he possesses a belief, has faith. In the heart of such a person there is an unbounded and ever present stir of certainty and belief. He is the true believer of the utility of God's directives, has unfettered faith in the all-pervasive authority of God. He is Muslim, a Momin (true believer)³⁴.

The true believer in the unity of God is true servant of God. In this regard, Mashriqi emphasizes that it is not necessary for

the believer to keep chanting the words 'I believe in God'. Indeed, servant is the one who proves to be so by his action: the servant will look after the house of his master, the things which belong to the master, he works contentedly, day and night. He may pay occasional respects to his Master, God. (In Islam, one is to offer prayers of short duration five times a day). Mashriqi goes to the extent of saying that such prayers are not included in service rendered to God. Service means acting upon God's directives all the time, and not simply at fixed times³⁵.

Mashriqi is emphatic that Islam is action, not simply rituals. It is the collective action of the ummah, united and agreed upon action. It is action involving the use of hands and feet, hearts and livers (i.e. action involving courage and guts), strength and power, suffering and hardships. Islam, says Mashriqi, does not consist simply in verbal affirmations, faith, formulas and amulets rosary counting and secluded prayers. To Mashriqi, test of one's faith was an empirical one; faith to be existent, must be reflected in practice, in actions. Faith loses its value and importance if it is not translated into practice³⁶. With these remarks we look at the ten principles in some more detail to see how they help in building dynamic nations.

(1) Belief in Tauhead, the unity of God, means action in that you are to conduct yourself in ways that reflect that Oneness of God is a reality for you. Belief in God is productive of certain type of conduct. We take the example of the notion of equality. Faith in Oneness of God should issue in the moral/spiritual equality of all

human beings in the conduct of a Muslim. A Muslim cannot but believe in the moral equality of all human beings irrespective of caste or creed. If such does not exist, faith in 'Tauheed' is not complete. For some, Islamic modes of worship are intended to achieve individual redemption. For others, like Mashriqi, such modes are contributive to, and creative of, a social order, a good society³⁷.

An important aspect of Faith in the unity of God is a person's relative detachment from his primordial distractions - such distractions seen as great impediments to the creation of a society wherein nepotism and corruption cannot take root, or flourish. Faith leads to the creation of universalistic as opposed to particularistic norms. When Mashriqi published Tazkirah in 1924, Muslims in India seemed to have a lot of verbal faith in the unity of God; it was not reflected in their socio-political relations. Mashriqi, through his Khaksar movement started in 1931, tried to devise strategies whereby he could convert the verbal faith into an active, living faith, in God and, thereby, revolutionize social relations among Muslims in India³⁸.

2. Unity Among the People:

Unity among inhabitants is, according to Mashriqi, so much important that the Quran provides mechanisms to minimize/eliminate possible ill-will between husband and wife even when on the way to being divorced³⁹. It is thought that even such ill-will, which has private origin, can be productive of disunity among families and, thereby, among Muslims as a society. Unity in a polity is to be

built upon smaller unities - among individuals and families. Most religions have established certain procedures/manners the observance of which is envisaged to produce unity. Religions, that is, help create a culture of unity.

Mashriqi discourses a lot on unity as a pillar for peace among a people, adding to their vitality and durability as a group. Mashriqi's 1939 efforts for unity among warring Shia-Sunni groups in the United Provinces in India may be cited as an example of his concern about disunity among Muslims⁴⁰. During the post-independence period Mashriqi did attack Muslim League. But that was an indication of his wrath against those who further divided the Muslims into smaller, warring parties.

Mashriqi begins with the building blocs of a united society in that he recognizes the existence of groups at various levels and tries to show ways and means whereby people can be united both horizontally as well as vertically. Mashriqi attaches great importance to good personal relations as building blocs of unity. Even exchange of greetings is taken to play a positive role in promoting unity among people. Active mutual help is considered as a firm basis for promoting unity. If a nation exhibits the qualities of a united nation having no sectarian differences, then such a nation would be enjoying, without fail, rule over others, or independence for herself⁴¹.

In Mashriqi's perspective, socio-economic and political disorders are the most important indicators of 'hellish' life which can devour groups and individuals in those groups. In terms of

perspectives which overemphasize the 'Hereafter' as the place of punishment can overlook indicators which in Mashriqi's view constitute punishment. For Mashriqi, there is probably no greater punishment than the one which is generated by deadly conflicts among parties, be such groups within one country or different countries at war with one another.

3. Emphasis on obedience to Ameer (commander, ruler) is indicative of concern about discipline, certainty in the chain of command. Mashriqi sees deliverance of a nation in her organization, almost on military lines. This is so because organized activity is productive of forceful, concentrated effort and is, eventually, fruitful. Mashriqi upheld the authority of the ruler but his emphasis has been misunderstood. What Mashriqi wanted was respect for authority because Mashriqi wanted to see peace in society. He was so sincere in this that when the central government ordered Khaksars, in 1942, to remove their military-like symbols, Mashriqi obliged⁴².

Problem of location of authority in a single head, a few persons, or democratic masses has been debated throughout history. Mashriqi's answer is leadership of single person who will seek full consultation but will take his own decision, i.e. be responsible for the decision. Such a leader would be expected to act morally within the cultural norms of his society. Apparently, Mashriqi's emphasis on 'obedience to the ruler' does not seem to take into account conditions of such obedience, particularly those either expressly mentioned or otherwise emphasized in the Quran regarding

rule over others, namely, consultation, and accountability. But Mashriqi's decalogue is meant to create conditions wherein behaviour of rulers will not be unwarranted. At the same time, lowering one's head in obedience to the leader of the group will overcome 'the monster of self-conceitedness' and haughtiness⁴³.

4. Of the ten principles of durability of a polity, the most relevant for defence against external intrusion, is complete readiness among the populace to fight out its battles with some proper weapons, even at the cost of life. It means giving up idols of self-love and engage in actual fight in the way of God. It means sacrifice of one's body when so needed in obedience to God's directives⁴⁴.

5. Financial sacrifice on the part of members of a community to defend the community against attack from enemy, In Mashriqi's view, results in conquering one's self-indulgence, doing something for the have-nots, and renunciation of one's love for money⁴⁵. Indeed, it means sacrificing one's own wishes so that wishes of others may be fulfilled. It is a constant financial sacrifice, resulting in the strengthening of a people as a whole. It is for the welfare of the nation, meant for some important national purpose. Mashriqi did not regard such sacrifice to be something charitable; he regarded it as the main basis on which national treasury and finance were to be organized which will then be used for the fulfillment of set national purposes. Spending in organized manner is a manifestation of well evolved society and, at the same time, adds to further collective strength and development.

6. Hijrat, migration, is one's travel in obedience to God's direction, sacrificing one's love for children, and leaving behind one's home and hearth, belongings, gardens, indeed, all luxuries. Members of a nation who come to ^{be} sincere believers in the unity of God and who are ready to abandon objects of love to the exclusion of the service of the true God would be ever ready to migrate from their homeland if required for the good of their nation. Indeed, leaving behind their children, their nearones, home and hearth would be something very insignificant in their eyes. They would be so much intoxicated with love of the Creator and love of their fellow people that they would not have second thoughts if migration was to be undertaken for a noble cause. The momentary inconvenience incurred as a result of migration could be a precursor to a long lasting peace on earth, could usher in an era of durable rule⁴⁶.

7. Endeavour and action with complete confidence in one's destiny means exertion, leaving aside all lethargy and indolence. The striving servant of God keeps in view the objective of inheritance of the earth and devotes himself, limbs and body, to the achievement of that objective⁴⁷. Muslims are to believe in their successes in the future; they should continue their efforts, believing that they would meet an happy ending, that their future is bright. They should have faith to face their future courageously.

8. Good manners and mutual help, justice and benevolence, keeping of promise and promotion of brotherhood, kindness and love become the true faith and true Islam for everyone⁴⁸. All verses about

Husn-e-Ikhlaq (good manners) when acted upon, must promote a peaceful society - a social order in which most of the people will be living a harmonious life. This peace can be both physical as well as mental. Acting upon such verses is likely to create a congenial atmosphere in which people will feel at rest - mentally and physically. Take the small example of saluting each other when two people pass by: repetition of salutation will lead to friendship and brotherhood, mutual understanding and confidence.

9. Belief in the Day of Judgement. Real service to God comes to be rendered when, owing to belief in the day of judgement, and reward and punishment, God's servant sacrifices his body, his soul, his wealth and all for earning God's approval⁴⁹.

10. The tenth principle of the decalogue is 'ilm', knowledge of work of God, scientific study of nature, which would confer power on man. Real service to God begins when people begin to investigate and acquire knowledge about God's Works---things which God has made, the Universe/nature which He has created⁵⁰. The Quran also draws attention to the study of archeological remains to learn about downfall of earlier nations⁵¹. This has now taken the shape of science, but it was emphasized by the Quran many centuries ago. Seen in this perspective, durability and prosperity of a nation is the function of knowledge of nature⁵². This proposition is true for all times and all places⁵³. In matters of reward, the Quran uses a terminology which seems to speak of the world to come, notion of 'salvation' and 'success' are usually taken to mean conditions which will obtain in the hereafter, after death. Mashriqi

recognizes such meanings but only as additional to other primary meanings which he attaches to such concepts. He emphasizes that the Quran is for the guidance of mankind. Naturally, it is to guide people when they are alive. This means that the Quran must be presumed, primarily, to address problems concerned with living people. It would offer code of conduct to people in their life, public as well as private. Mashriqi is critical of many Muslim religious scholars, mystics and intellectuals who claim to know the secrets of human progress, on the ground that they do not pay sufficient attention to the crucial role of scientific knowledge urged upon as a precious thing by the Quran itself. In Mashriqi's view, they indulge in 'non-sensical exaggerations', without possessing real understanding of the Quran⁵⁴. Nature is the truth from God⁵⁵. Man has been urged to acquire knowledge of Nature, whose forces are susceptible to human understanding and control. In Mashriqi's view, those who regard nature as useless, are likely to suffer; people with knowledge of nature will succeed in this life and in the life to come. Man has been enjoined upon to make use of his powers of listening and seeing and the intellect given to him, to learn the secrets of Nature. Those who do it, will earn rewards, 'salvation'; those who neglect the study of nature will be punished, thrown into 'hell'. Elaborating on this Mashriqi cites a Quranic verse⁵⁶, and comments that the nations who acquire knowledge of nature are the ones that have risen in the scale of civilization. Those who have neglected the study and conquest of nature are already groaning under the 'hell' of slavery, i.e. are

under imperialistic control. Mashriqi cites several verses from the Quran to show that, in the eyes of God, only those nations would be saved from the 'fire of hell' which would acquire the knowledge of nature and bring natural forces under their control to enhance their defensive and offensive potential.

And most certainly have we destined for hell many of the invisible beings and men who have hearts with which they fail to grasp the truth and eyes with which they fail to see, and ears with which they fail to hear. They are like cattle --- nay, they are even less conscious of the right way: it is they, they are the [truly] heedless! for God has created the heavens and the earth in accordance with [an inner] truth, and [has therefore willed] that every human being shall be recompensed for what he has earned and none shall be wronged⁵⁷.

All nations including the Muslim one which have fallen in doubt about man's meeting with God through progressive evolution, consider nature to be a purposeless creation; they pay little attention to the knowledge and messages(directions) which active nations derive from the study of nature; they have come to be ~~grapp~~ed by feelings of disappointment and entertain no hope of any boon from God; they are convulsing under alien rule and suffering impoverishment. Such dependent nations/people cannot engage in fruitful activity; their loss of self-confidence becomes, for them, a great ~~infirmity~~ ^{infirmity} and disability. All those who do not see any purpose in the nature; who see it only in terms of 'transitory abode' are according to Mashriqi, sluggards, liable to be thrown into 'jahannam', hell⁵⁸.

Servitors of God are those who take the nature seriously, investigate it, acquire knowledge of the principles inherent in it

and use such knowledge in further enhancing the 'beauty' of the world and their ^w powers to gain further progress. Mashriqi lists numerous Quranic Verses which seem to have an amazing unity of meanings, and show that the objective of the religion of Islam is progress in this world⁵⁹. Most of such verses emphasize that kingdoms of prophets had been based on knowledge of nature, and were strengthened and made durable on that basis. Mention of such durable kingdom in the Quran means that God Himself is witnessing the knowledge-based foundation of the prophetic rule and is declaring that it was right. Abundance of worldly comforts is specially mentioned and commended as part of durable rule. Nations which forget that durable self-rule is dependent upon scientific knowledge (whose highest form is prophethood), suffer decline, have to undergo 'hellish torture'. All their magnificence and sanctiliousness vanish, and they are turned into groups of mimicking monkeys'. This is because disappearance of their self-rule and imposition of alien domination lead to worsening of their worldly affairs and their manners of living. It also leads to loss of their physical energies, self-respect and courage. The dominated people fall form the level of ordinary humanity, and behave like monkeys, mimicking habits of the rulers and showing no sign of human dignity⁶⁰.

The Quran elaborates on the theme that with loss of furuor for knowledge of nature, even one-time strong kingdoms suffered decline, and some eighteen of such nations have been named⁶¹.

It is not simply that the ancient prophet-governed nations

were the ones which, according to the Quran, were based on the knowledge of natural laws/principles. According to Mashriqi the proposition is true in the modern times as well. The nations ruling over the big portions of the earth were those which had excelled in acquiring the knowledge of nature. Everyday they were adding to the store of their scientific knowledge; their insight and understanding into the affairs of the world was ever increasing. Writing in 1924, he declared that taking into account the progressive change, one could say that essence of the Quran, rule on the earth and all prophetic-teachings had been transferred to Western nations⁶². Such nations had extracted truth--scientific knowledge--from the study of nature and had been rewarded with kingship and domination over the earth.

Righteous actions eminently include actions undertaken to derive knowledge from the book of nature and their reward is worldly prosperity. Those who take the book of nature to be something purposeless, are in the loss. They will suffer pains of torture, in this world⁶³:

...verily, hell is bound to encompass all who deny the truth-- [encompass them] overwhelm them from above them and from beneath their feet, " i.e. from all directions and from many causes⁶⁴" where upon He shall say: " Taste [now the fruit of] your own doings!"

On the other hand, the Quran indicates to the righteous nations that God's world is expansive and those who follow His directions are awarded in the form of kingdoms containing gardens, with running waters flowing in them.

In the investigation of nature, complete patience has to be

exhibited. According to Mashriqi, such characteristics are found among the dynamic nations of the world i.e; in the early 20th century, the Western nations. And they were receiving their rewards in the way the Quran had indicated. On the contrary, Muslim divines interpret righteous actions in terms of whispering God's name on rosaries, but denying the 'clear signs' of nature. This had resulted in the indignities huddled upon Muslims everywhere in the world. This, said Mashriqi, was 'easy' Islam, Islam of rituals. In his view, Deen (Religion) of Islam had been, thus, rendered into a religion of immobilism and decline⁶⁵.

Mashriqi's emphasis on the decalogue and his criticism of those who emphasize the traditional 'Pillars of Islam' simply as rituals, raises an important question of interpretation. Five Pillars include daily prayers (five times a day), fasting during the month of Ramadhan (the ninth month according to Islamic calendar), Pilgrimage to Macca, paying Zakat (financial obligation to the society). Mashriqi in no way disregards the five 'Pillars'. He establishes a connection between various pillars of Islam and principles contained in the decalogue. What had hitherto been considered mainly as acts of personal piety were seen by Mashriqi to contain, in essence, secrets of national strength. Mashriqi makes the important point that⁶⁶: Various pillars of Islam are ritual expressions of faith by the Muslim nation, such pillars are not the Deen(the way of life) itself. Performance of activities involved in these fundamentals of Islam is an instrument--a resource---for the full functioning of the ten principles which,

says Mashriqi, have been revealed for man's guidance.

In the words of Mashriqi, the obligatory acts of worship imposed upon Muslims had in them the message that In order to reach the high standing of being a Momin [firm believer in God], one should know it that his life, his possessions all have been exchanged and that they are, in no way his; his prayer is not a worship according to his will, nor is spending of fortune a personal act of charity in the way of God, nor even 'fasting' was any more going hungry- a belief to earn God's pleasure. Pilgrimage of Mecca was no more a 'holy custom of the Days of Ignorance' but a prelude to the conquest of Mecca by Muslims⁶⁷. All these 'acts of worship' having become obligatory in Islam, were to lead to the achievement of one purpose and that was, according to the Quran, establishment of primacy of Islam over "false religion"⁶⁸.

'Politics' and 'religion' in such a community could not be separated from each other; they were inalienable parts of each. In all the Islamic injunctions, including prayers (and mode and the timing of prayers), there is an emphasis on unity among Muslim and show of strength against their enemies⁶⁹.

One form of unity and also of strength is manifested in the taking of orders from the Amir, whether in the imamat (leadership) at time of prayers or otherwise. The idea is that, there is to be discipline in the group and this discipline, while it manifests unity, is also productive of strength.

According to the Quran, even today that thing is 'al-salat' (prayer) which gives birth to the same state of mind, the same

purposeful obedience, the same discipline, the same ability to act, the same fraternity and mutual relationship, the same cooperation and sense of security as were intended in the messages brought both by the prophet of Islam and by all other prophets as well⁷⁰. Fasting is seen as a political weapon to generate strength, in the sense that a victorious force is always one that has the ability to endure hunger and thirst for a considerable period of time⁷¹. Fasting was method whereby people could be habituated to such endurance. For Mashriqi, fasting was also a self-sacrifice. The Muslim month of fasting trained people for self control which would last during the whole year; it was means of self-strengthening by acquiring power over self-indulgence. It afforded a great opportunity to learn patience and perseverance. Looked at from the point of common feeling of fearing God, fasting helps in promoting unity among people⁷².

Fasting indeed, is the best weapon for retaining strength among individual members of a nation, creating unity in that nation and rendering it strong and invincible in this world of endeavor and action, the world of condition and reward. In the opinion of Mashriqi, a nation that is following such Islamic ways knowing that they are full of great wisdom, is a nation which is acting upon the essence of religion, is holding fast to the law of God⁷³. Apparently a requirement for faith, fasting is a powerful instrument to habituate a community to extreme collective pain of hunger borne happily. As such, it was powerful instrument to keep community morale high during prolonged wars and possible shortage

of food.

Spending in an organized manner is a manifestation of an well evolved society and, at the same time, further added to the collective development of the society⁷⁴.

Hajj, pilgrimage to Mecca and Madina was a great means for achievement of unity of Ummah, unity of the Muslim people. The tremendous capacity of Hajj to create a centre for Muslims was unsurpassed; the pilgrimage is conceived to be a unique gathering, a most effective way of bringing Muslims together at one centre before a common Master, with a common feeling of awe and a veneration all these creating a sense of long lasting and unbreakable unity and cohesiveness⁷⁵. Of course, Mashriqi is not emphasizing Hajj, pilgrimage to Mecca, for all mankind. According to him, the notion of centralizing place is very important. Indeed, according to him, all nations have some or the other centralizing place. This promotes a nation's solidarity and invincible unity. Mashriqi noted in this context that Muslims had failed to retain the power and solidarity for which pilgrimage had been instituted. Mecca had to become a centre of peace and amity for the world at large. Such honour was being given to London and Paris now that Muslims had failed to achieve results which were meant to be achieved from the institutions of Pilgrimage and general gathering of Muslims at one centre⁷⁶.

The ten principles are not different from what are usually called 'pillar of Islam'⁷⁷. These principles, indeed, branch off from the single root, Unity demonstrated in actions. All basics of

Islam emerge from belief in Unity of God, such unity not stated in words only but demonstrated in actions. It is this unity which then leads the practicing people to dominance, peace, stability and expansion on earth.

Such belief in the unity of God, Mashriqi declared, resulted in the expansion of Islam. It was also germane to unification of the world, unification of mankind. Actions of such believers, persuading and offering sacrifices for their community, were witnesses to the existence of God as such. In their self-accountability, in their just behaviour and love for moderation in their perseverance and love of action, members of the early Islamic community were witnesses to God Almighty⁷⁸.

With godly action of theirs, members of an Islamic community attracted peoples of other nations, other races, other countries, to God, thus creating conditions for the unification of mankind into one community.

Mashriqi gives new meaning to the word 'abd'. It is obedience instead of worship. Obedience is active, the person can show obedience by acting upon what is being demanded of him. Worship is passive, it involves utterances rather than action. In worship, results are envisaged to come from God, in obedient action, man is the means whereby results are to be produced.

According to Mashriqi, acceptance of God and His Law means acting upon that Law; Quran demands struggle, effort action. Faith and Worship of, God consists in acting upon and in accordance with codes supplied by God through his Prophets. Verbal acceptance

and inactivity border on, indeed, constitute, Faithlessness, Nonacceptance, Infidelity⁷⁹. Islam was envisaged as a system of politics which, 'passing through lungs and hearts, was to rule over the bodies and life of people'. It was to be a religious fraternity which was to provide resources for welfare both in this world and in the ~~ph~~hereafter. Each member of this community was to furnish, in his actions, what was needed for communal strength alongwith his personal betterment. All acts for welfare of the community were also promotive of his personal salvation. It was an absorbing communal life in which every body was under commitment to God alone, not having the same/similar commitment to any one else. It was a multifarious association and acquitting oneself well in such community was equivalent to earning God's pleasure⁸⁰.

During the Meccan period there had been emphasis on inculcating fear of God in the hearts of Muslims. Once this was achieved and Muslims had to migrate to another place, which was also a test of belief in God, institutions began to be developed which would lift Muslim community to great pinnacle of power. In building up the Muslim community at Medina, a chain of interconnected activities was imposed as pillars-- pillars of Islam, seemingly rituals, but actually very potent in developing a self-confident, cohesive community which could feel itself to be increasing in power day by day⁸¹.

The decalogue contains the pillars and, in turn, is contained in them. The Principles are dynamic aspects, behavioral aspects of the pillars. As such the principles are measures of pillars. The

principles, with their dynamic aspects, are quantifiable; Pillars, when acted upon faithfully, should lead more and more to the creation of a dynamic people.

As Mashriqi emphasizes the action aspect to determine the worth of belief, the principles give us a greater measure in actually determining such worth. To Mashriqi, Quranic utterances about pillar or even ritual performance of such pillars are no guarantee of proper determination of the worth of the pillars. The principles laid down (worked out) by Mashriqi have crucial significance in determining the worth of claims made by Muslims, individually and, more importantly, collectively. Religion is not simply for the other world. It has rules with regard to exercise of power in this world, rules relating to the establishment and maintenance --stability and durability-- of society⁸².

Revelation has provided, always, much more guidance to mankind than the thought of scores of scholars. Scholarly world is a quiet believer of the greatness of Prophets but it has excluded the teachings of such religious leaders from their modern studies and research activities⁸³. The real purpose of obligatory 'acts of worship' in Islam was the creation of a powerful community--a community which was well organized for establishing its dominance over non-Islamic communities. A powerful community is an organized community, a community which has a social system in which energies of all its members are channelized in ways known to all. Islam organized the community apparently in terms of acts of worship but, in substance, taking care of all aspects of communal life, the



cumulative effect of Islamic practices was the creation of a powerful group for a definite purpose. The purpose envisaged in the Quran was establishment of Islam as dominant force in the world, in spite of all resistance on the part of non-Islamic forces.

Dynamic states are likely to successfully impose themselves upon others. Those coming under its rule would have demonstrated their unfitness. Acting upon some or other parts of decalogue the dynamic state could create conditions of capability to rule over others.

We will now see how Mashriqi applied his decalogue to analyze a number of contemporary affairs including (1) the West's increasing tendency to decline after the First World War; (2) efforts by Muslims in India to acquire power, and (3) struggle in the Indo-Pak subcontinent to gain independence from the British colonial rule. First West's rise to power and Mashriqi's decalogue.

Mashriqi held that the West was following a small portion of the 'immutable Book' of Nature revealed for mankind in the form of books brought by prophets. The Quran, according to Mashriqi, was the last edition and contained comprehensive lessons. Whoever was engaged in the fulfillment of a portion of the Quranic principles and programmes was bound to reap rewards⁸⁴. The West was sincerely engaged in the investigation of nature and was, to that extent, reaping rewards in the shape of dominance over many areas of the world. Mashriqi did not hate the Europeans, particularly the British, as rulers; in his view, rulership is earned. It comes to a group that has cultivated certain decalogue-based characteristics

the strength of which rulership comes to be theirs. The British
 ruler, that is, was based on some divinely approved traits⁸⁵. What
 the Muslims-among other things-failed to realize was that Europe
 did not abdicate its spirituality but displaced it; that its,
 materialism, in Europe was rooted in the adventure of the mind.
 Though it abandoned its own religion nominally, Europe did not
 plunge into licentiousness, madness, or gross vulgarity. Rather, it
 de science over into a new form of prayer, with its own ascetical
 practice, demands for self-denial, and so forth. The Scholar was
 not a libertine, but a hero of the mind, as a saint was a hero of
 the soul. However over emphasis on the 'work of God' as the source
 and repository of ethico-social principles to the exclusion of
 'Word of God', in the West was denounced by Mashriqi as bestiality.
 This is because to Mashriqi, Word of God constituted, till such
 time as man was able to possess Godly traits of all-seeing and all-
 knowing, the main infallible source for mankind's guidance. To him,
 emphasis on Science among European Scientists (including social
 scientists/ philosophically minded persons) was unwarranted.
 Indeed, Mashriqi was of the opinion that growing bestiality in
 Europe was rendering European nations, particularly Great Britain,
 incapable of governing the Empires which they had established in
 Asia and Africa. On the basis of what he regarded as growing
 bestiality and extensive misplaced reliance on natural science and
 technology, Mashriqi predicted the end of British Empire in the two
 continents. In the 1920's he saw an imminent convulsion in the
 Western colonialism of which Britain formed the main bulwark. He

was convinced of Britain's growing incapacitation and referred to the rapid erosion of her prestige and the "amazing swiftness with which its hold over its Eastern territories is loosening"⁸⁶.

Regarding the Indian subcontinent, he believed that an encounter would inevitably precede 'natural selection' there. It must take place between Britain and the Indians if the latter faced alien rulers unitedly, otherwise between major communities inhabiting the sub continent. He was thus in a hurry to put the Khaksars and, through them, the Muslims in a position of strength to be able to direct the course of events. While doing so he was conscious of the various categories of opponents who would be pitted against him: the Congress, its Muslim ^{affiliates,} the British statecraft and the hereditary upper class of Muslims, who would follow the British. Also were to be tackled mullahs and the Westernized elite who took everything that came from West as sacrosanct. Mashriqi wanted that the Indian Muslims establish their entitlement to a major role and a major share in the subcontinent, not by simply crying for safeguards and protection or expressing fear of the majority or indulging in hate campaign, but by 'self-reform'--character building through service, piety and discipline, self-confidence through awareness and faith in the national destiny in the light of their past history⁸⁷. He underlined the special status which the Muslims had in the subcontinent on the basis of their unique contribution to the preservation, defence, and cultural elevation of the country.

Movement for self-reform was naturally a religious movement.

Self-reform meant training people to become as good and real, as fearless and straightforward, Muslims, as there had been in the time of the Prophet of Islam. After self-reform, they would be ready to sacrifice their lives in the way of God. At the same time, in spite of their strength and courage to face guns, they would be humble and would win the hearts of others by the good manners. This was the picture of a good believer which was presented in the azkirah⁸⁸. From Mashriqi's point of view, the core of his quarrel with the British was that the latter would not let him work to create such qualities among Muslims as would enable them to re-assume leader of India, or, at least, compete with other communities on honorable terms. Inculcation of kingly qualities among a people was taken by Mashriqi to be a human right which no people/persons should be denied. Indeed, Mashriqi praised Europeans for having acquired qualities which he thought had made them rulers of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Freedom is impossible to secure ^{What was needed} ~~by~~ ^{and discipline} ~~the~~ ^{What} ~~Gandhian~~ method of non-violence, ~~which could be gained by rendering voluntary~~ ^{need} was military strength ^{What} ~~is gained during service of others~~⁸⁹.

To Mashriqi such movements as the Congress, the Khilafat and the Khudai Khidmatgar sought confrontations with the Government but did not work to provide themselves with the means to undertake confrontation with reasonable chance of success. Particularly, they were devoid of organization and physical strength. The Khaksar, in spite of its aim not to confront the government, was a movement which thought it essential to create discipline and other soldierly qualities among its members⁹⁰. The movement for self-reform was not

to admit people who were bent upon political vengeance against the British Indian government or against other communal groups e.g. Hindus, living in the country. Only those people were to be admitted who wanted to serve God (in contradistinction to service of primordial 'idols' e.g. one's family, the desire to live a luxurious life, etc) and had sincere belief in the Hereafter. They would not indulge in the day-to-day politics of the country. They would not aim at the opposition to government for the sake of opposition. They were not to indulge in non-cooperation and civil disobedience. Their motive will not be vengeance against any group, including the government. They will practice forgiveness but to the extent of not jeopardizing self-preservation⁹¹. Mashriqi wanted men in the movement to be self-confident.

The technique he adopted was that of holding camps at many places, congregational prayers to be led by any person who was asked to do so. Everyone had to be ready to lead prayer at any time. Every person had to keep this in mind that he might be required at any moment and at any place to head a group of people in prayer or otherwise. And every big leader had to keep in mind that he might happen to be under the command of a small local commander at a different place and time. In his analysis in Isharat, Mashriqi highlighted 'the potential of Muslims to become a great nation again and sit in the steering position' in the struggle for independence. Mashriqi's purpose was to awaken Muslims to reform themselves through a nationwide programme of discipline, service, moral elevation and faith in their destiny⁹². Mashriqi started the

Khaksar movement with the elements of his decalogue in view. In the beginning, however, attention was paid to the most important problem ailing the Muslims everywhere, namely, the problem of discipline. A broad programme of renewal and reform, therefore was set in motion. By 1937, the movement had come to be recognized as a force and Mashriqi began to take further steps embodied in his three demands addressed, initially, to the provincial governments of the Punjab and NWFP. Such demands seem to have been accepted by authorities in the latter province. However, in the Punjab there ensued a bitter acrimony which, in part, ended only with the ending of Khaksar as an effective organization. That is, Khaksar movement was eliminated soon after it gained the status of a recognized political entity. Mashriqi's political ideas formed the basis of this Khaksar movement, and seem to have achieved a measure of success which no other organization except perhaps the Indian National Congress, could match, particularly during the 1930s. Mashriqi wanted to revive the communitarian spirit of Islam and the best method he adopted was the method of social service rendered to all people, without hope of any favors in return, and without distinction of religion/blood - affiliations/ ideological affiliations. Khaksar groups were organized on ward basis. Acts of social service were to be accompanied by two other items: (1) collective/congregational prayers led by one of the Khaksars from ~~themselves~~ ^{themselves} amongst/ and (2) daily drill under a ~~hand~~ ^{head} called ^{'salar'}. All these acts are envisaged to be promotive of discipline and self-sacrifice. Every leader could administer immediate punishment. Over time,

members of the Khaksar movement developed habits of willing admission of mistakes and willing acceptance of punishment. Probably the most important aspect of the organization was the inculcation of moral responsibility among members of the Khaksar Movement. Such inculcation was possible because men in the movement were treated as moral beings; Man, they were told, was God's Deputy on earth. For energization of a fallen people, there could be no better formula. As deputies of God they were responsible for all God's creatures on earth; care of such creatures, including themselves, was their responsibility.

Importance which the Khaksars came to have can be measured by the fact that during 1940's they were one of the three Muslim organizations on which there were regular entries in the secret police reports, the other two being the Muslim League and the Ahrars. The dynamic nation is by definition a fit state: it is a nation whose fitness in terms of characteristics contained in decalogue, should lead to self-rule.

Mashriqi's Tazkirah is a socio-psychological interpretation of the Quran for the establishment of a durable nation, such durability consisting mainly in the enjoyment of undisturbed peace (no outside force having the ability to disturb such peace and/or impose restriction on the liberty of a nation), and prosperity based on ability to expand and utilize resources of nature in *one's* country. Islam as a religion and the Quran as a scripture are envisaged to provide those socio-psychological and moral bases which greatly aid in the establishment and maintenance of such

durable nations. Mashriqi's concept of the dynamic nation is universal in the sense that he claims to derive the ten characteristics of such a nation from his study of all scriptures which he could lay his hands on. Such inspired principles were inculcated ^{among} the early ~~among~~ Muslims and became norms for later generations. Mashriqi's theory of decalogue means that better prepared nations, fit nations, come to dominate the less fit ones.

Western imperialism could and should be shaken off. It was materialistic, one sided, had already lost vitality. His political behaviour in this connection has mislead a number of his contemporaries and later writers into believing that Mashriqi did not understand politics. Politics in the sub-continent was, indeed, complex from the middle of the 19th century. There were three major actors with conflicting and cross-cutting interests; Muslims had, by then, lost their ruling position to the new, British imperial power and the predominantly Hindu population ^{which} under its leadership, now saw a chance to revive the glory it had lost for the past thousand years or so. From 1857 to 1947, the three actors made variegated moves, often on ad hoc basis, which added further complexity to the already complex situation. In the next chapter we look at Mashriqi's views to resolve the situation in terms of his political values, namely human dignity and unity of mankind.

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67. Mashriqi, Tazkirah, Vol. 2, op.cit., pp.6-7.
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69. The famous Poet-philosopher of Pakistan as well has expressed similar views in his well-known prose book. He writes :

"What a tremendous spiritual revolution will take place, practically in no time, if the proud 'aristocratic Brahman of South India is daily made to stand shoulder to shoulder with the untouchable! From the unity of the all-inclusive Ego who creates and sustains all egos follows the essential unity of mankind. The division of mankind into races, nations, and tribes, according to the Quran, is for purposes of identification only. The Islamic form of association in prayer, therefore, besides its cognitive value, is further indicative of the aspiration to realize this essential unity of mankind as a fact in life by demolishing all barriers which stand between man and man". See Iqbal, op.cit., pp. 93-94.

70. Mashriqi, God, Man and Universe, op.cit., p. 59.
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CHAPTER 4

THE CORPORATE-BUREAUCRATIC STATE

A dynamic nation acting on all or most of the principles of the decalogue is sure to bring considerable area of the world under its durable domination: Imperialized countries acting upon some of the principles may be able to regain independence. They may reassert themselves and reestablish their dignity at the national level by securing independence from imperialist rule. But problems regarding human dignity can also arise in cases where an independent country, whether old or new, is an heterogeneous one. i.e. the country houses a number of groups having religious-cultural and racial differences. In such a case there will arise problems regarding human dignity at the subnational or communal level. In the words of Laski, "We must not think of freedom as involving only an individual set over against the community; it involves also the freedom of groups, social, ecclesiastical, vocational, set over against the community and the state"¹. And as Maritain points out, it is the duty of the state to protect freedom of religious communities. The basic equality of men, he emphasizes, "makes prejudices of race, class or caste, and racial discrimination, offences against human nature and the dignity of the person"².

A likely solution to the problem of a community's dignity will consist in the establishment of what may be termed as corporate state. The present chapter deals with Mashriqi's views on the same

mainly in the context of the Indian sub-continent during the mid 1940s.

Mashriqi wanted the British to free India immediately, but he was against transfer of power to one or more political parties. In his view, in the peculiar circumstances of the subcontinent transfer of power to such parties as the All-India National Congress or the All-India Muslim League was not proper³.

Why was Mashriqi endeavouring for immediate independence, but was opposed to a transfer of power to any of the two important political parties in India?

Answer to this question can be attempted with reference to Mashriqi's fundamental values, namely, the dignity of man and unification of mankind.

Mashriqi's practical work, had in view comprehensive set of objectives-promotion of human dignity, elevation of humanity, unification of mankind. His constitution was an application of his view of man's dignity to conditions prevailing in the politics of the subcontinent around mid-1940s. After careful thought and taking political intricacies into account, Mashriqi had come to the conclusion that unification of mankind under a scientific interpretation of religion was a laborious, and probably an unrewarding, task.

Given the difficult and perplexed circumstances of the world in general, and India in particular, he stressed the essence of religion as such, namely, the service of mankind without distinction of race, caste, or creed⁴. The major principles and

methods regarding the service of mankind were incorporated into the constitution as concrete tasks to be fulfilled. More specifically, such principles methods formed the foundation/structure for organizing the corporate type of political system, and for measures of human well-being.

More precisely, using Mashriqi's concept of man's freedom to choose (with the possibility of unintended and unforeseen consequences of actual decisions made) ~~were~~ will explain the fatally divisive conflict, between Hindus and Muslims, with regard to India as a nation. Based on Mashriqi's notion that utmost efforts be made to create unity/minimize conflict among individuals and groups, we shall discuss his own contribution to bring about a settlement between the leadership of the two communities. Noting the failure of his efforts at settlement we will present his corporatist bureaucratic model regarding the structure of a polity that he thought could promote human dignity, and underwrite unity of India.

Man, according to Mashriqi, is free to choose and his actions, in the pursuit of his choices/interests, may produce effects beneficial to some but injurious to the interests and aspirations of others. Indeed, a third party in the pursuit of its own interests, is likely to indulge in differential treatment and excite and/or augment rivalries existing between other individuals/groups. This is particularly true in the case of imperialist rule, which is not always conscience-stricken. It secures its own interests even when it may be partial to one or the other community under its control; it never hesitates to reverse

its plans when it suits its interests. In several important matters, such government would not agree to be bound by a rule. It would decide every case on its 'merit' without reference to similar situations. British rulers in India greatly relied on the use of stick and carrot. Dictated by their imperial interests they made extensive use of ad hoc decisions particularly in the sphere of creating politico-governmental structures. The adhocism eventually led the Muslims and Hindus to a fatally divisive conflict.

The post-1857 position in India was that, notwithstanding the Lucknow Pact negotiated between the Congress and the Muslim League in 1916 and which recognized Muslims as a community in its own right, Hindus looked upon India as a country of theirs. On the other hand, Muslims asserted and affirmed the religio-cultural diversity of the country and emphasized their own peculiar status.

The British recognized the corporate nature of the Indian society and acted accordingly, often making use of rivalries existing among various groups. By the end of the second world war, effect of ad hoc decisions on the politics of India was tremendous in that the country had to be eventually divided into two. More precisely, Hindu leadership saw in the parliamentary institutions the chance of fulfillment of their aspirations to acquire power in the whole of India. Their population strength would give them a clear and permanent majority in the central legislature. In most of the provincial legislatures also they would have permanent majority while in others, the same could be easily managed. Nourishing such beliefs particularly since the late 1920's the Hindu leadership

importance and the service it has rendered to the Empire entitle you to consideration", and he declared his conviction that "any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities" composing the population of the subcontinent . The deputation was assured that their political rights and interests as a community "will be safeguarded in any administrative reorganization"⁵. Muslims were granted separate electorate but the partition of Bengal was annulled in 1911 to appease Hindus. The annulment of Bengal partition was an undisguised act of submission. But the British needed to secure their interests. Indeed, during 1905-1911 agitations, British economic interests were greatly affected. Households gave up use of wares and goods having English origin; sometimes, they were seized and publicly committed to fire. Student community pressurized their members to discard the use of British-made clothes and foreign produced stationary⁶.

The annulment decision immediately ensured the successful progress of the royal itinerary through the most crime-infested areas. In Calcutta itself, the Monarch was received with great demonstration of loyalty. The Muslim deputation had demanded what they believed to be their due, the Viceroy accepted their claim on the basis of expediency. The parties were actuated by different motives. The Muslims wanted to preserve their identity, while the Viceroy was anxious to pull them out of political discontent. The deputationists were given a firm and unqualified affirmation of the

ded to deny the existence of other religio-cultural communities, including the very large and self-conscious Muslim community, as ordinate in status. It recurrently pronounced the unity of India nation and demanded, on the lines of parliamentary democracy, the nt to frame a constitution for the whole of India. Muslim dership denied the cultural unity of India and pointed to large tiguous portions of the country which had predominantly Muslim ulation. They believed India to be a corporate society i.e. a ety made up of more or less specific cultural groups having ernal solidarity. In the following pages we trace the elopment of fatally divergent positions as a result of various sions by the three political actors.

While they did not systematically provoke inter-communal ict, the British did make occasional use of existing rivalries promote their own interests. The British encouraged the ation of the All-Indian National Congress in 1885 which adopted ts major objective the democratization of institutions with asis on educational and property qualification for people to such representative institutions. Alarmed at Hindus protest and of violence against the British for partition of Bengal in , Muslim waited upon the viceroy regarding their grievances. Viceroy, in the wake of Hindu agitation, was quick to welcome Muslim deputation. He appreciated the "just aims of the owers of Islam and their determination to share in the tical history of the Empire". He agreed to their 'just claim' their numerical strength both in respect of the political

demands, to the dislike of the Hindus.

Bengal Hindus were the first to organise an impassion^{ed} protest against autonomy in Muslim franchise. They questioned the desirability of special safeguards for Muslim community when it was unfit for the exercise of power. They repeatedly asserted that separate electorates clashed with the basic idea of representative government. In their view, educated classes alone were fitted for 'political life and highly intellectual contests'⁷. In 1924, the Hindus launched an offensive against the Lucknow Pact and separate electorates. The Communal Award^{of 1932} maintained the principle of separate electorates, retained weightage and conceded Muslim majorities in Bengal and the Punjab in a roundabout way. The Award approximated more closely to Muslim demands than to Hindu desires. Proposals for reform were in the air before the Simla Deputation and were a concession to Hindu sentiment. They were seen as a step towards the consolidation and concentration of Hindu political power. As the majority, they were assured of a dominant position under the coming constitution.

The ¹⁹⁰⁹ reforms did have important new features. The administration which was previously carried on entirely in the dark was brought into the light of the day and under the scrutiny of public discussion. Legislators could now criticize the actions of the executive, elicit information by means of questions and express their views by moving resolutions. The inclusion of Indians in the councils of India Secretary and the Viceroy gave them access to places where ultimate decisions were made. Hitherto, they had been

excluded from them⁸. But new features of the reforms were not thought to be enough, more importantly, the separate electorate became the target of criticism, implicitly denying the communal/corporate nature of the society. The Lucknow Pact of 1916 fully recognized the corporate nature of the Indian society and the status of Muslims in it. The pact recognized the separate electorate and made adequate provisions for the representation of Muslims on the Provincial Legislative Councils. Further, three-fourth elected Members of the community were enabled to determine if a question in the legislative Council was to be proceeded with or not. That is, the legislature was to respect the wishes of the community⁹. The British Government had already accepted the corporate nature and had been acting accordingly. They tacitly accepted provision of the Lucknow Pact regarding the status of the Muslims as a community. They had accepted the separate electorate earlier; later, ~~they~~ accepted weighage agreed upon between the Muslim and Hindu leadership.

The 1919 reforms rejected federation as impracticable. On the other hand, it conferred personality^{on} Provinces, reducing their dependence on the central government. The new Act located the Province as the most suitable field for launching what may be called a controlled experiment in democracy. The Act of 1919 was a great step forward towards parliamentary democracy in India. It was to provide necessary training to the Indians in self-government. A ~~par~~^{par}chey was introduced in the Provinces of British India. Provincial administration was accordingly divided into 'Reserved' and

'Transferred' subjects. The Reserved subjects were to be administered by the Governor with the help of councilors not responsible to the provincial legislature but to the Government of India. In the case of Transferred subjects, Ministers were chosen from the legislature and were responsible to it¹⁰.

During the 1920s three parties, that is, the British, the Hindus, and Muslims in the politics of India began to be clearly defined. ^{Initially,} Gandhi's civil disobedience of 1920's and Muslim Khilafat movement against the British were merged and the British had to face a united Indian action. But when this action subsided, communalism re-asserted itself. The rise of a Hindu organization, the Hindu Mahasabha, was one of the major factors that scared off the Muslim leadership urging a combined effort against the Raj. The Sabha launched Shudhi, the movement aimed at the reconversion of Muslims to Hinduism and used religious symbols. It put a serious challenge to the Congress secularism. It gained a mass following and Moti Lal Nehru could win his seat in the elections of 1926 only after the Mahasabha agreed not to set up a rival candidate. All other Hindu candidates of the Congress in the United Provinces were defeated¹¹. Repudiating the Lucknow Pact, it advocated a unitary government for India with provincial and local governments deriving their powers from the Centre; no territorial redistribution of provinces to ensure Muslim majorities; and discontinuation of separate electorates for Muslim¹²s.

Bypassing the Muslims, averse to the Congress and Mahasaha ideas, the two parties joined hands, and a report was prepared

under the chairmanship of ~~Modi~~ Lal Nehru. The All Parties Conference, convened in August 1928 to discuss the Nehru Report, was not attended by any Muslim leader of substance. The Report favoured a strong central government unacceptable to the Muslim League. It proposed Dominion Status for India and parliamentary democracy. The Mahasabha influenced the Nehru Report, the so-called indigenous attempt at constitution making. The Report stressed adult franchise, residuary powers in the center, and "provincial autonomy" for provinces to be reconstituted linguistically. It denounced reservation of seats for Punjab and Bengal; agreed to separation of Sind from Bombay on certain conditions; and to the raising of N.W.F.P. to the status of a province. The Report was an exercise in instituting a strong central government in a country rent by communalism and would have resulted in a permanent Hindu majority. A comprehensive Bill of Rights was also included. The Muslims felt ignored and delivered to the Leviathan of the majority¹³.

The Nehru Report was not accepted by Muslim leadership who now came together in opposition to it. In the meantime, the British took an initiative and invited the Indian leadership to the Round Table Conference in London to solve the constitutional problem. They were confronted, in March 1930, with a rebellious Congress and Gandhi's Civil Disobedience movement. The Movement regarded the continued presence of alien rule in India a crime responsible for "four-fold disaster (economic, political, cultural and spiritual) to our country"¹⁴. The campaign of Civil Disobedience included non-

payment of taxes, breaches of law, riots, arsoning, murders, and assassinations of officials. The Movement was suspended after negotiations between the Viceroy and Gandhi. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact led to a truce and Gandhi's participation in the Round Table Conference as a sole representative of the Congress¹⁵. In the Conference, Gandhi tried to postpone the communal question to post-independence period. This was unacceptable to minorities who evolved a 'minorities pact' as a safeguard against the perceived Congress domination¹⁶. Their fear, in the words of Maulana Muhammad Ali, a Muslim leader, was that "India had never been democratically governed in the past and the majority rule in India could turn out to be the worst tyranny"¹⁷. The British announced their decision, partly, in the form of a Communal Award (1932). The Award recognized the corporate nature of the Indian society; and went so far as to recognize the Untouchables as a minority euphemistically called the 'Depressed Classes'. The Award was incorporated in the Government of India Act, 1935. Apart from certain professional and economic interests, the following categories were represented in the Award¹⁸:

1. Hindus
2. Depressed Classes (otherwise known as Untouchables)
3. Indian Christians
4. Anglo-Indians
5. Europeans
6. Backward Areas.
7. *Muslims*

Faced with Gandhi's fast, the Depressed Classes surrendered the promised separate electorates under the Poona Pact between Gandhi and B.R. Ambedkar. According to 1935 Act, the safeguarding

of the interests of minorities was one of the special responsibilities of the Governor. Although Ministers could advise him on the subject of minorities, it was up to the Governor to decide as he deemed right. Moreover, the Governor was expected, in accordance with the Instrument of Instructions issued to him, to select his Ministers who collectively commanded the confidence of the Legislature. In so doing, he was to ensure the representation of important minorities. These discretionary powers of the Governor were regarded by the minorities as inadequate and unsatisfactory¹⁹. They failed to alleviate the fear of majority among the minorities, particularly among the Muslims.

Nevertheless, the Muslim League decided to work the constitution for what it was worth. Its desire to form coalitions in several provinces following the 1937 elections was a proof of India being a corporate society. In spite of some prior understanding on the issue of coalition between the Congress and the League leadership, the Congress demanded liquidation of the Muslim League in the United Provinces. Furthermore, it demanded of the Leaguers in the United Provinces to enlist as Congress members before they could be included in the ministries. The Muslim League leadership refused to accept these humiliating terms. The Congress ministries thus lacked the genuine representation of minorities. During their functioning, the Congress failed to project itself a truly non-communal organization committed to a secular agenda. By contrast, the League came to be seen as the embodiment of Muslim interests. Jinnah-Gandhi and Jinnah-Nehru talks during May and June

1938 foundered precisely on the point that Hindu leaders were not ready to recognize the corporate character of the Indian society and the Muslim League as the representative of the Muslims. Congress leadership was inconsistent to the point of being opportunistic. On the one hand, it denied the League a representative character, on the other it recognized those Muslim organizations which were vividly hostile to the Muslim League²⁰.

After the out break of war in September 1939, it seems that both the Congress and the League were practicing strong arm tactics to derive concessions from the situation so created. At the same time they were indulging in mutual recrimination and propaganda. To Mashriqi, this atmosphere was being used by the British to perpetuate their rule. Indeed, the British presence, he argued, had always worked to ^{show} ~~show~~ the seeds of discord between the communities. Such presence was an hinderance to the minimization of mutual antagonism and promotion of mutual goodwill and concord. British departure from the Indian scene was necessary for promoting a modus vivendi among various religious communities. Mashriqi adopted two consecutive strategies to gain freedom from the British and to heal rifts between the Hindus and Muslims. He began his attempts during his Madras confinement and continued them afterwards. During 1943 to 1944, Mashriqi aimed at a settlement between Gandhi and Jinnah, the two accredited leaders of the two communities. His second strategy was the preparation of a constitution agreeable to all communities. In the following pages, we discuss his two strategies. Both of them failed but they do illustrate Mashriqi's application

of his fundamental values to particular situation, and his conception of human nature. The provisions of his constitution relevant to the form of the state and structure of government, the bone of contention between the Congress and the League, will be discussed in the present chapter. This will consist of a discussion on Mashriqi's ideas regarding human dignity at the communal level. The portions connected with dignity at the individual level will form the subject of the following chapter.

Mashriqi's role as an agent of reconciliation and seeker of a settlement between the League and the Congress, was necessitated by his circumstances. In the wake of March 1940 Khaksars-Punjab Government clashes, Mashriqi faced a decline of Khaksars²¹. His Khaksar Movement was crippled, and he was not able to act from a position of strength. However, he thought it was incumbent upon him to bring about a reconciliation and to generate mutual trust between the Congress and the League. He pursued this goal with vigor. He had initiated his efforts, when his movements had been restricted to Madras. He tried to prevent a collision between the Congress and the Muslim League by attempting to make Gandhi and Jinnah come to a settlement before the end of the war. Mashriqi wanted a negotiated settlement between the Congress and the League. He wrote to Hindu leaders urging that the Civil Disobedience movement "is a little pre-mature"²², and that the Congress should first concede open-heartedly the Muslim League's demand for Pakistan and then all parties should unitedly demand 'Quit India'.

Mashriqi laid emphasis on negotiated agreement based on his views about the nature of man. He held that man was a moral being and open to persuasion. To persuade a man to adopt the right course entailed an earnest endeavour. Mashriqi was convinced that no stone should be left unturned to ensure the right course of action. But all such beliefs were premised on the basic view that man is not immune to reasoning and candid approach.

Quran however indicates that often men can not be persuaded, thus emphasizing a possibility that persuasion is not always a guarantee to success. Some people may choose not to follow the right path even when they had full knowledge of consequences of following a different path. Some people would be adamant on their prejudices, sectional and personal biases and interests and would involve themselves into illogical situations; they would make demands for personal/sectional interests on certain premises but could not be amenable to grant other's interests on the same or similar premises. Such people, in Mashriqi's view, would create difficulties for themselves, sometimes leading to collapse of politics. This view applies to Congress attitude towards Muslim demands and the eventual division of the country into two.

Mashriqi believed that with good will and sufficient thought, creation of an agreed procedure on mutually beneficial matters may prove to be first steps in greater mutual understanding and, thereby, creation of common symbols based on common values, even common religion. With regard to the desire for a united action by all Indians for freeing India, Mashriqi was of the opinion that

unity would, "as if by magic, bring about first realization of common danger; then successively, a spirit of cooperation and human brotherhood, discipline, courage to face danger, soldierly prowess, military qualities and, finally, patriotism and power and freedom"²³. Mashriqi had a predilection for face to face dialogue. In his correspondence with the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, Mashriqi always stressed that no amount of correspondence could reveal the heart which Home Department wished him to put on paper in vain. It was only a face to face talk that could bring about understanding on both sides²⁴.

Mashriqi was quite sincere with Quaid-i-Azam and idea of Pakistan, and in sincerity he suggested that the latter should come to a settlement with Gandhi, regarding the idea of Pakistan. It is interesting to note that in a telegram Mashriqi asked Quaid-i-Azam whether he approved active cooperation of khaksars with Rajgopalacharia²⁵. This shows that Mashriqi was sincere with Quaid-i-Azam and such sincerity was not limited to his suggesting to the Quaid-i-Azam as to what he thought was desirable to do. Mashriqi, believing in united action by Muslims of India, was ready to undertake dialogue on what he regarded important. Mashriqi believed that union was strength and practical demonstration of such belief was his readiness to consult and seek approval of his measure from those who were concerned with the same problem, particularly Quaid-i-Azam.

The twin notions of man's freedom and respect for the humans, predisposed Mashriqi to possible multiplicity of political actors

in a given situation. Freedom of will is likely to create an environment of individualism wherein each individual will have to be given consideration as a political actor. But if individuals have associations, whether primary like the family, or secondary ones like a political party or a ward committee, or a religious community, then political actors may work as corporate bodies. Existence of such communities will have to be recognized, Mashriqi emphasized. Mashriqi was voicing some thoughtful pronouncements of Gandhi himself, who stated: "If you want to get freedom by your own efforts, there is only one way. Some people talk of parliamentary method. Our only way is the constructive programme and the Hindu Muslim unity"²⁶. Some sort of resolution between Muslims League and Congress was considered as fundamental by Mashriqi for any step toward freedom of India, or even achievement of Pakistan. And it is a fact that no progress toward independence of India could be made till a consent on the part of the Congress on the most important issue of Pakistan was managed by Mountbatten. Mashriqi wanted that resolution of Pakistan issue be made as amicably as possible. Amicable resolution of conflicts and issues was part of the socio-political philosophy of Mashriqi. He wanted that there should be reign of peace in society and that one of the major instruments to achieve peace was amicable resolution of conflict situations.

Mashriqi's efforts for a Hindu-Muslim settlement were not fruitful for a number of reasons. Firstly, his endeavors were considered as a nuisance both by Congress and the Muslim League. He was rebuffed by both; League saying: "Quaid-i-Azam understands

politics better than you. Refrain from interfering in Gandhi-Jinnah affairs"²⁷, and the Congress President: "It is obvious that no step can be taken [at settlement] merely because you send telegram or any other person expresses such desire. It is a matter between the Congress and the League only"²⁸. Secondly parties stuck to their original positions. Jinnah was not satisfied with a mere desire on the part of Gandhi to meet him and explore the possibilities of a settlement. He wanted Gandhi to accede to the League's demand for Pakistan, as a pre-requisite for detailed negotiations. He was in no hurry to arrive at a compromise with the Congress on the basic issues but probably wanted to wait until he was politically much stronger. Only that could promise better terms and a respectable settlement with the Congress²⁹.

Thirdly, in the absence of a settlement between the two parties, initiatives largely remained in the hands of the British. Such initiatives seem to have benefitted from Mashriqi's work and ideas. Mashriqi's efforts at an agreed constitution were known both to the Indian as well as to the British Governments. Mashriqi wrote to Wavell in September 1944, and again in May 1945, when the Viceroy was in London, explaining to him what he "thought of the situation in India with particular reference to Congress, the Muslim League and the general shape of the Constitution being evolved by his organization"³⁰.

There is no evidence whether Mashriqi wrote to the Viceroy about the size and composition of the Central Government as envisaged in his Constitution. There is evidence that he suggested

about the Governor General's Council on the occasion of the Simla Conference in July 1945. He advocated parity between Muslims and the Caste Hindus, i.e., four each, and one seat each for Hindu Backward Classes, Muslim Backward Momins, Shiah Muslims, Dravidians, Christians, Sikhs and Scheduled Castes³¹. Probably, Mashriqi influenced the British thinking about the composition of proposed re-constituted Executive Council. The eventual failure of a reconstituted council, led to the announcement of general elections.

Mashriqi's constitution which was ready by the beginning of July and published about four months later, does not seem to have had any impact on the course of events. One wonders whether it was read or even considered by all. Elections were held with separate electorate under a full parliamentary system at the provincial level but with no final decision regarding the central level. We will not concern ourselves with the details of the electoral successes of both the parties, nor with the parleys over various constitutional plans. Doubtless, the electoral success of the two major parties reinforced the British predilection to transfer power to two predominant parties.

During the Congress rule in the provinces (1937-39), the British did not pay much attention to Muslim grievances. In October 1939, shortly after the outbreak of World War, the Viceroy made some policy statements. He appreciated the work of Congress ministries and the soundness of the 1935 Act, which transferred powers and provided "great opportunities to popularly elected

governments commanding the support of majority in the Legislature"³². To assuage the League and other minorities and Princes, he declared that after the war, the British Government "will be very willing to enter into negotiations with their representatives, with a view to securing their cooperation in the framing of such modifications [in the 1935 Act] as may seem desirable"³³. Mindful of the League's demands he wrote to the Secretary of State on 28 October 1939, urging him to give full consideration to the legitimate claims of the Muslim community.

Fearing a backlash from the Mahasabha, the Congress all along avoided a viable solution to the communal issue. While advising the Congress Ministries in October 1939 to resign, the Congress Working Committee described the previous statement by the Viceroy about Indian independence "as an unequivocal reiteration of the old imperialist policy"³⁴. To the Committee, the mention of differences among several parties was aimed at blocking India's independence. The Committee, in a Meeting on 19-23 November 1939, accused the government of fanning communal tension and of creating misunderstanding and befogging "the main and moral issue"³⁵. The Committee declared [that] "no communal considerations were in the way of meeting the Congress demand, and that the minorities, despite their differences, did not oppose India's right to freedom. The Committee demanded an early declaration of British war aims and a fully sovereign Constituent Assembly to frame the constitution of free India. In its view, the best platform for resolving the communal issue was the Constituent Assembly.

A few days before the Muslim League's famous Lahore Resolution (23 March 1940), the Congress held that "no permanent solution of the communal problem would be possible except through a Constituent Assembly where the rights of all recognized minorities will be fully protected under an agreement between the elected representative of various majority and minority groups"³⁶. The League leadership described the proposed Constituent Assembly as a "nebulous and impracticable, a pure blackmail on the part of the Congress"³⁷. It feared that the Constituent Assembly, elected by the vast majority of illiterate Hindus, will be under the influence of Gandhi, Congress leaders and the Working Committee. The Working Committee, it was argued, would use the Constituent Assembly to achieve its ends: the abolition of Indian States, stifling of minority communities and the creation of "a great Hindu nation under its beloved leader, Mahatma Gandhi"³⁸.

The government was not oblivious to the rising tide of Muslim nationalism and ever-increasing popularity of the Muslim League. Notwithstanding the Congress rhetoric on Indian unity, it expressed a willingness to consider partition of India as one of the possible solutions to the political impasse. In August 1940, the Viceroy declared that the British Government "could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government"³⁹.

This offered the needed assurance to the minorities particularly the Muslim Leagues. Earlier in his interview with Jinnah on 27 June 1940, the Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, had assured him of British "determination to have full regard to Muslim opinion and to the legitimate right of so large a minority of the people of India"⁴⁰. He made it clear to the Whitehall that in order to enlist Jinnah's support 'at this stage', it was "essential that any declaration that might be made should not preclude a fair and unprejudiced hearing for the Muslim League's proposal for the creation of Pakistan"⁴¹. Yet Jinnah was cautious and unwilling to trust the British promises. He was aware that even after the Congress refusal to cooperate in war effort, the British were careful not to antagonize it. He was keen to prevent any rapprochement between the British and the Congress, which will be detrimental to the Muslim cause.

The British, in pursuit of their own interests, took further steps during the war which accentuated the corporate character of the Indian society. By the spring of 1942 Burma was occupied by the Japanese and her forces were knocking at the gates of India. To secure the Indian cooperation to war efforts, and to assuage public opinion in Britain and the United States, Churchill sent Cripps Mission to India which promised a post-war Constituent Assembly, India's elevation to a Dominion, and a constitution framed by the Constituent Assembly elected according to the provisions of the Communal Award of 1932. All this was aimed at creating an Indian Union with the right of provinces not to accede to the Union

Constitution, if they so desired. The non-accession clause was in deference to the corporate nature of the Indian society, implying the possibility of partition⁴².

As opposed to this situation, Mashriqi envisaged a different method to decide the future constitution of India. He urged the need for a Supreme Representative Body, which would consist, in the first place, of the accredited leaders of the various elements of India's national life; also new assemblies and the new executive council, constituted under the new constitution⁴³.

Mashriqi's proposals were not heeded. In May 1947, he denounced the transfer of power on democratic parliamentary lines, fearing the Congress dominance. He predicted a "perpetual reign of Atomic Bomb and Rule of Terror, legalization of genocide and state killings, and justification of murder of children in mother's wombs". To him, such a rule would mean "worse imperialism, worse capitalism and worse Halakuism than all the History has yet produced". It was likely to be a "reign of Hell on Earth". Mashriqi was worried about the physical well being and dignity of "180 million Sachhuts, 95 million poor Musalmans, and 60 million Scheduled Castes". He doubted whether under the so-called democratic plan, these people would ever remain virile enough to lodge even a protest against their persecution. "The one Party rule will justify wholesale destruction of all cultures, suppression of History, murder of philosophy, annihilation of honorable traditions, and slaughter of ideas"⁴⁴. Non-tolerant party rule, in his view, would "decimate the beautiful cultures of Asia, beautiful

code of Asiatic Moral Laws, the beautiful philosophy of Peace and Tolerance that Asia has given to the mankind during the last 5000 years"⁴⁵. In a divided India, Mashriqi predicted that party rule in each Dominion, being in the hands of men "trained in British way of thinking", would bring nothing but worse form of British Raj again. "This Raj will be ten times more tyrannical, more deformed, more ghastly, imperialistic and non-Indian than even the worst form of British Raj". Transfer of power within the parliamentary framework would be likely to prove "Diabolical plan of the ruthless rule of Birla, Brahmin and Khan Bahadur, where arrogance, money and tyranny will rule rather than human beings"⁴⁶. Mashriqi's opposition to the transfer of power to the two main political parties, Congress and the League, was based on specific reasons and on theoretical grounds. He thought the parties were dominated by capitalists (as in the Congress case), and by feudalists (as in the case of Muslim League). He found them elitist and un-attentive to the needs of the masses. At the same time, their members did not possess any moral training imparted through acts of social service.

Acts of service would entail work in the squalor and filth. Forbearance with such situations would promote moral purification, decency and decorum and personal integrity. Mashriqi was of the opinion that given the low morality among the leadership of the two parties, there was no hope of respect for the human beings or for building prosperous and a durable society. An observer of Pakistan's affairs in his analysis of real beneficiaries of Quaid-i-Azam's objectives, has scrutinized Jinnah's programme and the

institutions established to implement it. He finds that "of the countless words of Jinnah's speeches, letters, proposals and the resolutions of various organizations, with which Jinnah was associated, particularly the Muslim League, the overwhelming portion is concerned with political power. References to the concerns of the common man, i.e., the masses, are few and far between and are more in the form of pious hope than in the shape of concrete proposals that could be implemented"⁴⁷.

The major document connected with the welfare of the masses was the Muslim League Election Manifesto of 1936, which was meant for securing immediate response from the Muslim electorate. After the 1940 Resolution of Pakistan, the League struggled to create a popular base. To do so, it appealed to Muslim identity, without promising social and economic boons. In August 1944, Mashriqi proposed to Jinnah to make the Muslim League a real representative of the Muslims by giving, out of 40%, only 10% to poor Muslims, 5% to Shiahhs, and leaving 25% to Khan Bahadur and other well-to-do individuals who overwhelmed the Muslim League..."⁴⁸ Mashriqi made a similar appeal to Gandhi on behalf of the poor and the suppressed Hindus.

The reasons why Mashriqi opposed the Muslim League in its method for creation of Pakistan were many and some of those had to do with his specific views on nation and nationalism. He wanted a stable, durable and prosperous polity.

Mashriqi wanted that the people who lead a movement for independence should be the people schooled in the task of social

service and who have acquired the habit of respecting the human person. Without imbibing the idea and habit of service to the people, he cautioned, a leadership will not possess the qualities and abilities to create a durable polity. Theoretically, Mashriqi rejected some of the major features of Western ideas and institutions and attempted to promote indigenous political conceptions, both Indian and Islamic. He advocated a 'corporate-bureaucratic' state. In the following pages, we discuss Mashriqi's critique of democracy and his favoured polity suitable for heterogeneous society of India. His critique of democracy has two main points. One relates to the possible tyranny of permanent majority, the second to the plutocratic domination of the rich over the poor. His critique of brutality and spitefulness of religious-cultural permanence of majority was similar to the one levelled by the Muslim League against the Congress. Indeed, a theoretical statement of the League's position had been made earlier by Syed Ahmad Khan:

I seriously pondered over the suitability (or otherwise) of the representative system of Government in India long before the Congress took up the matter. Having carefully gone through the (clearly expressed) opinions of John Stuart Mill, I am convinced that where the majority vote is the decisive factor in a political system, it is essential for the electors to be united by the ties of race, religion, manners, customs, culture and historical traditions. In the presence of these factors, representative government is practicable and useful; in their absence, it would only injure the well-being and tranquility of the land⁴⁹.

Mashriqi's conception of a predominantly indigenous polity has the following broad aspects, reflecting important elements of his decalogue.

1. Corporatism in the legislative sphere i.e. representation of various communities in the legislature should not be based on population statistics above. It should be qualified in an important way namely, that those who volunteer their lives for defense of the country have a superior right to rule. In Mashriqi's views Muslims had served for the defense of the country more than Hindus and deserved to have parity in the legislature.
2. Mashriqi wanted to ensure Participation of masses in public affairs. This would ~~be~~ reflect the unity of action in a nation. Such participation was to be ensured by specifying number of seats in the legislature for the have-nots of various communities.
3. Bureaucratic wisdom in the chief executive;
4. The chief executive was to possess kingly qualities and enjoy ceremonial in accord with Indo-Muslim conceptions of the head of the state.

Corporatist assumption refers to a social universe in which distinct segments of like-qualified persons are the basic actors. Such segments can be variously termed as 'groups or orders or quite often communities'⁵⁰. In some societies, their existence may be a fact, of both social and political life. That is, they may be seen

as competing political forces. Even if there exists passivity on the part of some of them, they may be aroused, and made active to take part in public affairs and to enhance human dignity.

One of the celebrated theorists of corporatism, John C. Calhoun, believed that "limited reasons and faculties of men, the great diversity of language, customs, pursuits, situations and complexion ... have, by their operation, formed a great many separate communities, acting independently of each other"⁵¹. When societies are comprised of distinct communities or segments, creation of viable political order becomes problematic, and solution is sought on a corporatist basis. Western theorists see the problem of segmented society in terms of "egotism, i.e., refusal by communities to accept unequal political status in relation to any other segment. In their view, "the inherent egotism of the segments is seen to prevent them from accepting an unequal distribution of power as just"⁵². But such theorists usually fail to analyze what is involved in justice. Mashriqi's view is that the human person possesses dignity and whenever he belongs to a community, the human dignity will be protected by protecting the dignity of that community.

To Mashriqi corporate nature of the Indian society was manifest. His solution to the problem created by religion-cultural division and territorial concentration of a particular community able to detach itself from the main country, differed both from the Congress and the Muslim League. Unlike Congress he did not want to impose a permanent rule of the Hindu community over other

communities, especially Muslims. Unlike Muslim League, he wanted to retain the unity of India. The British, by several isolated decisions of theirs had created a situation whereby the two major communities had come to articulate their visions in a manner diametrically opposed to each others. They did recognize the corporate nature of society but hesitated to resolve the problem because they did not enjoy confidence of the opposing communities. Additionally, they found it to their advantage to take decisions which served their interests according to the ever arising momentary requirements. The Indian Government itself provided data on communities as is reproduced below⁵³.

Population of India by communities (1941 Census)

Communities	British India (Millions)	Indian States/Agencies
Hindus	151	55
Muslims	79	13
Schedules Castes	40	49
sikhs	4	1.6
Christians		
i) Indian Christians	1.7	1.4
ii) Anglo-Indians	0.1	0.03
iii. Others	0.8	0.07
Jains	0.6	0.9
Budhists	0.2	0.06

Parsis	0.1	0.01
Jews	0.02	0.003
Tribal	17	8
Others	0.4	0.04
Total (Circa)	294.52	89.113

In the ~~monetary~~ ^{mementary} decisions, the British did set certain precedents. The one usable by Mashriqi was the Communal Award of 1932. Mashriqi added certain important qualifications to that award. Following his theory, in the Tazkirah, of dynamic nation with a major characteristics of his members to sacrifice their lives for its defence, Mashriqi emphasized such sacrifice as producing the right of rule. A nation whose members were ever ready and had actually shed blood for the defence of the motherland, had the superior right. Mashriqi articulated this view, again, in 1939 in a pamphlet titled 'Aksariaat ya Khoon' [Majority or Blood?] ⁵⁴. He reiterated the view that historically only that nation has ruled which has made sacrifice of life, has shed blood, either in defence or in expansion of its territory. Muslims shed blood and had the ^{right to} rule ~~as right~~ as long as they could hold. The Hindus had the least right of rule. Applying this principle, the ultimate amount of representation of all communities in the Central and Provincial Assemblies, as well as, in public bodies could be fixed. The same principle could be applied in determining the number of all ministerial and high administrative appointments, and of all appointments to civil military and diplomatic posts, etc. That is,

right to hold public offices was to be determined ^{by} ~~the~~ the number of men per thousand that a community provided to actual service in the battlefield, also the number per thousand provided for military training⁵⁵.

The future happiness of the soldier and the permanent security of the Realm was envisaged to increase in proportion to the recognition of this measure as a fundamental right.

'Askariat', militarization of India, was thus listed as constitutional duty of every Indian, with the emphasis that "shedding of blood for the defence of motherland has always been the criterion for holding of power in all history"⁵⁶. If Hindus in Indian were not going to transform themselves into a strong military nation, as they were in the olden times, mere numerical strength of the Hindus could not given them the right to hold political power in the country. For this reason, the military community, mainly Muslims, were allowed special privileges to realize that they are no more mere mercenaries of the Realm, but actual sharers of political power on account of their will to sacrifice lives for the defence of the country.

The major communities listed in the communal award of 1932 have been given before. Mashriqi lists seventeen elements which are ~~are~~ broad 'religio-cultural' communities. They also specify religio-political offshoots of the major communities, and are reproduced below. They are important to mention because they were thought to jointly conclude a treaty with the British to ^{effect} ~~transfer~~ of power. They are listed below⁵⁷:

1. Hindu Mahasabha
2. Congress
3. Sanatandharmi Hindus
4. Backward Hindu Classes
5. Dravidians
6. Muslim League
7. Khaksars
8. Sunni Muslims
9. Shiah Muslims
10. Backward Muslims and Momins
11. Scheduled Classes
12. Christians
13. Sikhs
14. Hindu States
15. muslim States
16. Soldiers
17. Miscellaneous (Jains, Budhists, Parsees, etc.)

The representation of communities was to be by separate electorate, and in the Central Assembly was to be fixed as follows⁵⁸:

Communities	Representation (%)	Representation (Nos)
Hindus	40	200
Muslims	40	200
Scheduled Castes	10	50
Christians (include- ing Anglo-Indians	3	15

Sikhs	4	20
Jains	1	5
Parsees	1	5
Budhists	1	5
Total		500

In determining the number of seats the principle of 'shedding blood' was kept in view, particularly with regard to the parity between Hindus and Muslims. But in Mashriqi's view, such parity had become established otherwise as well. He inferred this from a recent government announcement that the communities would be given parity in a reconstituted Executive Council at the Centre. The arrangement was also approved by a committee of conciliation between the two. According to Mashriqi, circumstances had grown such that, "unless this parity between the two major communities is willingly agreed to, there is very little likelihood of peaceful and stable rule in India for good"⁵⁹. The Sikhs representation was enhanced because of the military prowess of the community. In the case of many other smaller communities higher weightage was accorded simply because they existed. Jains were given 4 seats in a province where, hitherto, they had held none. Similarly, Budhists and Jains were accorded five seats each in the Central Assembly.

Mashriqi considered it "manifestly impossible to deny the fundamental right of secession and self-determination to portions, communities and sub-sections of communities that are unwilling to cooperate and feel more security in separation"⁶⁰. The

constitution, therefore, provided for the right of secession of any community or portion of India five years after attainment of freedom provide it claimed and proved⁶¹:

- 1) By a majority vote in the Provincial Assembly, or a plebiscite of the portion involved, as the case may be that the preponderant wish of the people was to secede;
- 2) by statistics of the revenues and expenditures for the past five years that the province, or the portion involved, was self-supporting, or was sure to become self-supporting if left alone;
- 3) by military statistics of the past five years that the Province, or the portion involved, could hold its own against all odds, or would hold its own against all eventualities if left alone,;
- 4) by expert military opinion that neither its own security nor that of the whole Realm was endangered in view of geographical position or other considerations by its secession, and
- 5) that the intention by such secession was not to endanger the safety of the Realm by hostile action, military or otherwise, alone or in combination with other powers, neighbouring or distant, and assurances or affirmations to that effect against suitable guarantees.

Parity between Hindus and Muslims was maintained with regard to the office of the Head of the State. A Hindu, or a Muslim, elected alternately, for a term of three years, was to be called

president of India. The Hindu President was to be popularly known as President-Rajkumar, and the Muslim one as President-Padshah. He was to have wide powers because it was believed, that the "Government could not go on unless there was a strong hand which pervading all popular as well as democratic acts, when un-requirements of law and order and good government necessitate strong action"⁶². He must have hold the office of Governor in a province or other higher post. As such he was to come from the bureaucracy.

Mashriqi ruled out a party leader as a president or a governor because a stable and peaceful government was impossible with him. A party leader tended to be vindictive. He usually had no experience of administration of cities, districts, groups of districts, administration of justice, revenues, education, hospitals, public works, customs, taxes, ~~infact~~, no actual experience of the administration. He was likely to "waste his three years in making schemes for the aggrandizement of his own party and will not do a stroke of work for the good of India"⁶³. On the other hand, "having the best part of his life in the real service of the people, the civil service man, morally also, deserves the position"⁶⁴. With further improvements in the civil service under independent India, there was all likelihood of getting even more capable persons to fill the post of the president of India as well as those of the governors in the provinces. Absence of party man as a head of government was envisaged to "mitigate, rather, annihilate all party dissensions in the country."⁶⁵

The arrangement was also seen to eliminate communal rivalries, in that, as non-party men, the president or the governor would not indulge in "illicit gains and undue exploitation"⁶⁶. According to Mashriqi, the institution of political parties in the country, which had amounted to many communal faction fighting against each other, is a very recent British imposition on India, and was entirely opposed to Indo-Muslim philosophy. The non-party Governor was likely to do his best to keep the communal proportion in services. As such, he was apt to spend most of his energy in keeping the other communities satisfied. Communal parties in such a situation were likely to lose their communal bitterness. They would lose "superficial political charm which produces so much rancour among the communities in India"⁶⁷ Indeed, parties were thus envisaged to overhaul their ideas about the necessity of their existence, would hesitate to play upon religion as a political stunt, and were expected to evolve firm and definite ideas about the general welfare of the country.

Moreover, system of taking highly placed civil service men to fill the highest executive office was already in vogue under the British, and had produced a good amount of stability and efficiency in the administration. This efficiency was expected to increase with improved methods of selection of men suitable for civil service by competitive examination in future⁶⁸.

The suggestion of a Hindu President by a Muslim President and that of a Muslim President by a Hindu President, and similarly of governors, was bound to create an atmosphere of goodwill and

cooperation not seen during the first half of the twentieth century.

Party politics was also deemphasized in the administration of central affairs. The President was to choose fifteen or so members of his Council of Minister from among the elected members of the legislature, but he was free to choose any members, belonging to some or other party. It was to be a government of all parties in the sense that all or most of the parties in the Legislature were to be represented in the Council of Ministers. The Ministers were to be elected representatives of the people. Because they represent parties, their choice as Ministers was left to a non-party head of state and in the case of a province to an equally non-party governor. This was suggested in order to suppress party spirit and encourage democracy in the real sense. Democracy, Mashriqi maintained, was not rule by a single dominant party, "but by all parties, spreading its utility to all people"⁶⁹. Favouratism could be crushed, only if Ministers were not chosen on the strength of parties, as there was no chance for the weak then. One may object to Mashriqi's plan of government of all parties on the ground that ministers having affiliation with different parties were likely to differ and that it might be difficult for them to work cohesively. Mashriqi's answer to such objection would be that under a semi-presidential and semi-parliamentary system, the President was to choose members of his council and it was he who was to exercise the executive power with ultimate responsibility to the legislature⁷⁰.

For seeking aid and advice in a particular matter technical,

professional, military, religious or otherwise-, the President could choose an entirely new council for the time being, composed of experts in that matter, and in his discretion, hold apart from the regular council⁷¹.

The constitution contained several features contributing to the representative character of the President in terms of population as well as culture. The incoming President was to be elected by a "grand assemblage"⁷² consisting of the sitting president, his full cabinet, members of the Central Assembly and a college of provincial assemblies (each provincial assembly sending five Muslims and five Hindu members). Selection of the Muslim names by a Hindu President and those of a Hindu by a Muslim President, was to enhance the cause of representativeness. Mashriqi conceived the scheme as a 'sweet blending' of the "Indian conceptions of royalty and British conceptions of democracy"⁷³

The President of India was deemed to have been elected with the consent of the people of all denominations, sections, creeds, etc; represented in the grand assemblage; he was to be proclaimed as the Defender of Faiths, Rights and Realm and, outside the borders of India, the sole Representative of the people of India.

The President was to enjoy a great measure of majesty and symbolic and actual powers. Alternatively the Hindu or the Muslim President-in-office, as the case might be, had to keep in view, during his tenure of office, all the best governors or ex-Governors belonging to the other faith. If elected, they should, in his estimation, rule the country beneficently and efficiently. At the

end of two years of his rule, sitting President was to put in a sealed envelop five names, alphabetically arranged, from among the governors or ex-governors, who in this estimation, were best fitted for the presidentship. One of the names might be name of a ruler of a State understood to have most efficiently governed his State on democratic or beneficent lines. The putting in the envelope, of these names was to be announced throughout the country with the firing of one hundred and one guns. In Mashriqi's view, by such act, ~~this~~ the whole of India would be "stunned as to which Mussalman is to be the likely choice of the Hindu president,"⁷⁴ and vice versa. Opening of the envelopes, exactly after six months, was to be announced similarly. The final election was to take place exactly on the seventh day of the announcement. And, finally, if the sitting president was a Hindu one, would issue a proclamation appointing a Muslim Padishah-President for three years as the elected representative of the whole of India. At once, he was take him into his cabinet to train him up for the presidentship for the next six months. When the president belonged to Hindu religion, he was to be known as Rajkumar-President; when he was Muslim he was to be styled 'Padshah-President'. Mashriqi's view, in devising the two styles, does seem, on hindsight to have contained a truth: People of the sub-continent, whether Hindus or Muslims, had been accustomed for centuries to have built up a particular image of the ruler of the realm. For Hindus it was Raj-Kumar, for Muslims Padshah or sultan. Padshah symbolized all the virtues of a noble ruler of the realm. Emotional attachment to Raj-Kumar/Padshah was

attachment to virtuous rulership. Most of the countries of South Asia have exhibited that attachment to such conception; it is exhibited in the prevalence of dynastic rules in most of the other countries, e.g. of India, Pakistan, Sri Lanka and even Bangladesh⁷⁵. Mashriqi held that in the East "a king is not only the defender of the soil but of the soul as well,"⁷⁶ He is openly styled as the defender of religion, the shadow of God on Earth, the holder of the flag of justice, etc.

The President was to have very wide powers. He was to have veto powers over the council, checked only by the fact that a measure supported by 14 out of 15 members of his Council was to be executed as a measure approved by the President. He had veto power over the legislature and could be checked only by an impeachment of the President. In the latter case, the Speaker of the Central Assembly, with ten thousand military personnel at his command, could oust the President if impeached and so required. The Central Government was to be known as the Supreme government, and the President was to be known as the President of the Supreme Government in exercise of his functions with respect to the Indian States⁷⁷.

Mashriqi did not contemplate "any immediate violent change"⁷⁸ in the relation of the Central government with traditional rulers. British India was an organized unit, centrally administered and, to a great extent, efficiently governed in matters of internal and external security, defence, warfare, external commercial relations, diplomatic affairs, etc. In relation to States, India was superior

in point of offensive and defensive capacity, material resources, prestige, and organization. She had the natural right to consider herself as the most supreme power in such situation. Rulers of India~~n~~ States had the right, on the withdrawal of British paramountcy, to retract from treaties concluded with the British. India, however, could claim herself to be the supreme power transferring to herself intact those treaties. But, Mashriqi desired that Free India would not keep people resident in the States to be under "double slavery"⁷⁹, the slavery incident to their being the subjects of the autocratic rulers of States, and, secondly, the slavery as a result of subordinating of their rulers to the domination of the India government.

India was to amend, abrogate, or withdraw from the treaties transferred intact to the Supreme Government, in proportion to the will of the Rulers of States to amend, abrogate or withdraw their undemocratic rule over people. In Mashriqi's view, freedom of India, essentially, meant the freedom of the peoples of the States also, and not that of the Rulers of States only. Free India was not to assume the role of a paramount government but that of a Supreme Government in relation to States, and her aim was to be to work in the spirit of an ally to physically weaker Powers. In proportion as the ruler of a State showed, by his democratic deeds, his will to part with his personal power, to that extent would the Supreme government relax the curbs on the authority and position of Rulers of States. Rulers were expected eventually to come to have a status as that of a Governor of a Province of India, with the exception

that a ruler's rule over the State was to be hereditary, and not only for three years. ;a State federated fully on the lines of union of the provinces of India, ^{was} ~~were~~ to posses the same privileges as any province with the difference that its Ruler was to be a hereditary Ruler, and could be removed in the same way as President of India. Under stipulated conditions, a State had the right to secede and form an independent unit.

Mashriqi was endeavouring for immediate independence because, in his view, the presence of the British as rulers of India was a hindrance with regard to unity among the various communities inhabiting that country. But he opposed transfer of power to a majority party in an undivided India, or two parties in a divided India. His opposition to the major political parties was motivated by his concern for the rights of the individual as well. Mashriqi's concern for religio-political communities and ways to promote communal dignity have been outlined in this chapter. In the next chapter, his views on promoting the dignity of the individual person will be discussed, mainly int he context of the Sub-continent.

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CHAPTER V
FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS

Mashriqi's view of man is based on theocentrism rather than anthropocentrism ;God is the creator of man and has endowed him with observational and intellectual powers, giving man dignity over all evolved creatures. Holding such views, Mashriqi is in agreement with Jacques Maritain, a Catholic thinker, that Man is constituted as person, made for God and for eternal life, before being constituted part of human community; and he is constituted part of familial society before being constituted part of political society. Hence, there are primordial rights of individual, which the society must respect, and which it dare not wrong when it demands for itself the aid of its members because they are its parts¹. In the previous chapter we discussed how Mashriqi dealt with the primordial rights, of a familial society that was termed as community. In the present chapter, we discuss Mashriqi's views on the primordial rights of individual persons. According to Mashriqi, all revealed books have emphasized the dignity of the human being in a number of ways. The Bible thus describes the creation of man:

And God said "Let us make man in our image, after our likeness:.... So he created man in his own image...blessed them [to] be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it: and have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon earth².

Man to Mashriqi "is almost a complete little universe, a microcosm". "The most wonderful object for man's study", to him,

"is man himself"³. The immortality of man's spiritual life is the distinctive feature which raises him above the animal world. His possession of the power of discerning good and evil, and differentiating one from the other, together with the gift of free will, gives him the choice and makes him responsible for his action. Modern Christian thinkers have advanced a similar view with regard to man's spirituality. Maritain, for example, tries to show how human knowledge has spiritual basis; "man", he says "is able to know whatever participates in being and truth; the whole universe can be inscribed in it"⁴; This means that in order to be known, the object known by the intellect has been stripped of any existential conditions of materiality". This means that, while being analysed by the mind, things become entirely separated from their material existence. Mind goes still further in that it knows the spiritual natures by analogy, extending itself to the realm of the possible. The Quran repeatedly says that Man is destined to meet his God and has the capacity to pattern his character "as far as possible, on the character of the Designer of the Universe"⁵. To Mashriqi, therefore, an individual person's character "should reflect a man's determination to evolve to higher forms of creation". This establishes dignity of the human person in the divine scheme of things. That is, the human person in its entirety is a part of the political society, but, nonetheless, it transcends political society by reason of any and all absolute values to which the person is related. The human person transcends the state, to the extent that man has a destiny superior in time⁶.

Maritain holds that whenever we say that a man is a person, we mean that he is more than a mere parcel of matter, more than an individual element in nature, such as an atom, a blade of grass, a fly or an elephant. Man possesses intelligence and will. He exists not merely physically; there is in him a richer, nobler existence; he has spiritual super existence through knowledge and destiny. He is thus a whole, not merely a part; he is a universe unto himself, a microcosm in which the whole great universe can be encompassed through knowledge; "... in the flesh and bones of man there lives a soul which is a spirit and which has a greater value than the whole physical universe"⁷. No doubt, man is a number of accidents of matter; his physical existence is material in nature; but "the human person exists by virtue of the existence of its soul, which dominates time and death"⁸. This means that the human person has a relationship with the Divine and possesses absolute dignity. In the picturesque description of Maritain, man's "spiritual fatherland consists of the entire order of things which have absolute value, and which reflect, in some way, an Absolute superior to the world and which draw our life towards this Absolute"⁹. The natural aspiration of the human person is for political and social emancipation which will release him more and more from the bonds of material nature. It aims at "the betterment of the conditions of human life itself"¹⁰. Such betterment would "procure the common good of the multitude, in such a manner that each concrete person, not only in a privileged class, but throughout the whole mass, may freely reach that measure of independence which is proper to

civilized life and which is insured alike by the economic guarantees of work and property, political right's civil virtues, and the cultivation of the mind"¹¹.

Revealed religions attached utmost importance to human dignity and, historically, many human documents have incorporated it as a basic ideal. A modern document in this connection may be said to be the British Bill of Rights of 1689 which enunciated, inter alia, the rights and liberties of the subject. Apart from settling the succession question, its main emphasis was on the elimination of the royal prerogative of dispensing with law without the consent of parliament. The King, according to this Bill, could not levy taxes or maintain army in time of peace without specific parliamentary authorization¹². A century later there came two documents dealing with rights of persons. One was the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen and the other was the American Bill of Rights. The American one was specific to the United states of America in that it formed the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution, guaranteeing the individual rights and putting limitations on federal and state governments. Taken as a whole the amendment conceded very substantial rights in favour of the individual person. For example, Congress could not legislate on religion. It could not establish a religion, nor could prohibit its free exercise; it could not abridge freedom of speech or press or the right to assembly and petition for redress of grievances. Life, liberty and property could not be taken without due process of law. People were secured against unreasonable searches and seizures and

issuance of warrants except upon probable cause and directed to specific person and places. It required that grand jury would indict a person in prosecution for major crimes. Double jeopardy for single offense was prohibited. It was provided that no person should be compelled to testify against himself. An accused person was to have a speedy public trial by jury, was to be informed of the nature of accusation, was to be confronted with prosecution witnesses, and was to have the assistance of counsel. Excessive fines and cruel and unusual punishments were forbidden. Unenumerated residual rights were protected in favour of the individual, and powers not delegated to the federal government were reserved to the states or the people¹³.

The French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen is often celebrated as one of the basic charters of human liberties. The whole declaration was characteristic of 18th-century French thought, which strove, before making practical rules to isolate and specify principles fundamental to man and, therefore, universally applicable. It declared that all men are born free and equal in rights, which were specified as the rights of liberty, private property, the inviolability of the person and resistance to oppression. All citizens were equal before the law and were to have the right to participate in legislation directly or indirectly. Freedom of religion and freedom of speech were to be safeguarded within the bounds of public order and law.

The Declaration was derived from a number of sources. They included constitutions of a number of North American states (e.g.

Virginia's 1776 Declaration of Rights), Montesquieu's notion of separation of powers, John Locke's notion of natural rights, Rousseau's theory of the general will, Voltaire's, emphasis that the individual must be safeguarded against arbitrary police or judicial action, physiocrate's doctrine of the inviolability of private property and the Encyclopaedist's creed that "there were natural laws with respect to which human beings in all parts of the world must agree"¹⁴. Positive assertion of the existence of natural laws led to natural rights envisaged to be "above local custom and tradition"¹⁵. That is, certain rights were universal human rights.

The slogan of the French Revolution was liberty, equality, fraternity. Overtime operation of liberalism led, via excesses of laissez faire, to emphasis on socialism which basically implied human equality and human dignity. In practice, it eventuated into totalitarianism, emphasizing economic production and relegating individuals to nonentity. Europe of the 19th century stopped short of fraternity and had by the early 20th century exported so much of its institutions to the colonial areas that fraternity eventually came to lose hold there as well¹⁶. (Witness rise of 'national' conflicts in the Middle East after both World wars). Colonial intellectual fed on European ideas grew both nationalist and socialist of sort. Many came to incorporate socialist ideals into their programmes. Inspired by Bills of Rights in the foreign constitutions the leaders of Indian thought and opinion often demanded recognition and enforcement of the fundamental rights at

a number of occasions. In the Nehru Committee Report, it was stated that

"Our first care should be to have our fundamental rights guaranteed in a manner which will not permit their withdrawal under any circumstances"¹⁷.

This demand was pressed by the Indian leaders at Round Table Conference in London as well.

And Mashriqi did note the Indian Congress resolutions on fundamental rights of 1931 and 1933. He was also aware of Muslim League's eleven demands of 1938 as Muslim's rights¹⁸.

An authoritative Muslim response to growing Congress emphasis on socialism, particularly that advocated by Nehru, came from Iqbal. He was of the opinion that Muslim problem of bread would be solved on the basis of Islamic Shariat suitably interpreted to take modern developments into account¹⁹. Mashriqi prepared a Charter of Fundamental Human Rights and Individual Liberties committing the state to undertake measures for welfare and industrial development. The basic point of all the envisaged measures was that fundamental ills could not be eradicated unless strategies were based on "proper conception of society, culture, religion, habit and mode of life... and proper conception of reform"²⁰. That is, Mashriqi rejected the reformist views emanating from the West. He tried to derive principles of his charter of fundamental human rights from the Indian traditions both Hindu as well as Islamic. He defined Fundamental rights of man as those unalterable prerogatives of the individuals of a nation, which the country in which that nation lives, demands as a whole through its inner consciousness

irrespective of whether any Particular constitution is in operation in that country or not". He took the view that such rights could not technically form part of the constitution of a country; constitution was a mutable thing at every stage of the development of the opinion of people, and its ~~the~~ framing depended upon the body of Constitution-framers appointed by the nation to translate its immediate requirements into a code of law. On other hand, the charter of fundamental rights of man was framed "under the supreme authority of the "genius, civilization and culture possessed by the oriental countries, from immemorial times of giving fundamental truths to all the best of the world in all spheres of life." The Charter is thus an immutable document now, and no other device could have rendered the fundamental rights immune from future changes by interested parties.

The most important fundamental right in Mashriqi's view was one which concerned both the pre-1947 Indian society and its individual inhabitants. This was the right of independence from foreign subjugation which violated the dignity of the people as well as that of persons. At the top of the 'charter of fundamental rights and individual liberties', Mashriqi put the 'basic rights of the realm'. They included: "To bring back to India the native peace and harmony, God fearing atmosphere, valour, amiable qualities of head and heart, high morals, simplicity of life, innocence of feelings, human conception of life, respect of human relations, etc"²¹.

To Mashriqi, spiritual development was a right of the

individual and the state was to promote indigenous religious conceptions. European civilization, culture, mode of thought, frame of conscience, sense of human duties, ideas of international relationship, and human exploitation, were not considered to be the last words in Human Wisdom and Philosophy of Life. Indeed, they were yet in experimental stages only. India had the right to retract from whatever portion she had assimilated of them so far, to the extent natural to her own original conceptions of life.²²

Religion being still the motive power in the East and the great refuge of man in the process of life, India was not to discard the spiritualism of Religion, inherited by her from ages, in favour of European materialism and unconcern to things spiritual. She was to use discrimination in choosing methods of education, discarding those prejudicial to her religious or other interests; prohibition of liquor and other intoxicants were to be considered a part and parcel of freedom of individual²³. Similarly, the following features were also considered of vital significance for the fundamental rights of the individual citizen, namely:-²⁴

1. India's right to retract from whatever portion she had assimilated of the European institutions and philosophies so far, to the extent natural to her own original conceptions of life;
2. Democracy, not being in accordance with the original Indian conception, Hindu as well as Muslim, and being only very recent imposition of the West on the East, was to be adopted to the extent of its being beneficial to

India's general interest;

3. No government to sacrifice, for immediate superficial gains, the indigenous industries and resources.
4. Repeal, in the ordinary course, of laws prejudicial to the original Indian conception of good government.

India was suffering from "the low standard of moral virtues of the average India. In Mashriqi's view "People are dishonest because they are hungry, tell lies because they starve, widows suffer because there is want of food, beggars thrive because there is nothing to eat, thieves abound because stomachs are empty lepers are seen everywhere, on the roads because people are underfed, child death-rate is appalling because mothers have no milk left in their breast, disease abound because physical constitution cannot repel it"²⁵. The various ills from which India was suffering were taken up as a question of fundamental rights of man. In Mashriqi's opinion, the root cause of most of these ills was "mainly, if not entirely, ... Hunger"²⁶. And India was hungry because "it feeds others so liberally and obligingly that it prefers to starve itself"²⁷. The 'trade-imperialism', in Mashriqi's view, "scrupulously denudes the victim country not only of raw materials to the last drop of its blood, it creates a system of economics and managed currencies in the country, from time to time, in such way as to denude it of all real monetary wealth as well"²⁸.

Mashriqi argued that the attitude of the imperialist countries was almost inhuman towards populations under their rule. Life of such people was not considered valuable, and people were allowed to

die or suffer in millions. Such populations were thought by European imperialists to have no right to be considered 'civilized'. It was thereby inferred that their resources "must be used for protection of life in 'civilized' countries".

It was imperative that free India should rise to the consciousness of the necessity of protection of human life, "in order to withhold aggression on her resources and raw materials."

The remedy, in Mashriqi's view, was that "it is the primary duty of India to give that food which she grows on her own soil first of all to her won children. He asserted his disbelief in European ideas in the organization of society; "We have known enough of 'sciences' and 'truths' by now to our cost, of professors of sciences and truths exploited by political Europe for their own ends, and we are not going to have any more non-sense of this and that 'science' in the future simple politics of India"²⁹. To solve the problem of India's hunger, he propounded " a very simple and handy rule: henceforth, a Rupee was not to be measured by the Gold standard, or the silver standard or the 'paper standard'. It was to be measured by the actual amount of wheat that it could buy in India, and that amount of wheat was to be sixteen seers." Mashriqi claimed that all economies of India, adjusted in accordance with the fundamental standard value of the Rupee, would go the whole way for the benefit of India³⁰.

Mashriqi put a rupee's value to be equivalent to sixteen seers of Wheat as the main pivot on which the whole future administration of free India was to turn; freedom for India was going to mean good

food and full stomachs for everybody, not merely for those who exploited India. In Mashriqi's view, freedom with empty stomach was not worth the paper on which it was given. The state should produce and reserve food at sufficiently low price for every individual in the land, from the highest to the lowliest, at all times. No son of the soil was to be deprived of the daily bread that India grew on her own soil. Currency in India was, henceforth, to be measured by a RUPEE being that coin which gave to its processor, at the least, sixteen seers of wheat (or equivalent cereals). All internal as well as external economies, plans and schemes of the State were to run subservient to, and be adjusted in accordance with, this standard of the value of a Rupee. This value of the Rupee was to steadily ameliorate by the persistent effort of the State, until a Rupee was to possess the power buying thirty two seers of wheat.³¹ Hunger in India had struck at the root of all vitality in the country and had reduced the average age of an Indian to 23 years through misery and starvation. For this purpose, a cut-down in expenditure on luxuries, salaries in civil and military departments, and amenities was also to be permissible or was to be made.

The State was to disallow all camouflaged proposals or industrial plans ultimately serving to produce capitalistic tendencies in the country and exploitation of working classes. The State, according to Mashriqi, was to keep in view individual happiness, peace and plenty, equal distribution of wealth, pious and contented homes more than even prosperity in the country resulting

in the slavery of the country to capitalism, egging human race on to the inhuman destruction of World Wars. The State was to call a halt to all such attractive proposals whether emanating from within or without for the real and eternal happiness of the country and, in this respect, was to keep more in view the philosophy of Oriental life than any unfinished economic theories of the West resulting from the various 'isms' of Europe³².

It was the primary ^{duty} of the State to take adequate measures for the protection of human life at every stage of its existence. For this purpose the following rights of the Individual were recognized in Mashriqi's constitution:³³

- (a) The right of every mother, if unprotected, to State help up to Rs. two per month for the welfare of her child for a period of two years at the least.
- (b) The right of every unprotected woman to fulfil the function of mother-hood with all possible alleviation of the physical suffering, and to the care of her infant up to the age of three in maternity and child-welfare centres organized in principal towns and cities.
- (c) The right to prompt and adequate provision for the destitute and unprotected family on the death of any bread-winner, or pensioner, to the extent of Rs. two, per mensem, per person involved.
- (d) The right of every unprotected child to free maintenance, education as well as start in life, either directly by

the State in suitable child-welfare centres, or through the advance of suitable graded State help up to Rs. Ten per mensem to families, undertaking to protect and educate the child.

- (e) The right of every destitute person, above the age of seventy, to a pension not exceeding Rs. 5 per mensem till one month after his death.
- (f) The right of every beggar to have food in beggar-houses, or take up employment in families undertaking to protect and train him up for suitable occupation in life, at the cost of advance from the State up to Rs. two per mensem.
- (g) The right of adequate milk and ghee supply to every person in India by a systematic, even drastic legislation for the protection of the cow, as well as the she-buffalo and other milk-animals, of rendering every possible State assistance to cattle-owners and other allied institutions for the purpose of improving breeds, quality and quantity of milk, food for cattle, stables etc., and of the organizing of special cattle-breed centres throughout the country, cattle-exhibitions cattle-shows in villages, and cattle-prizes, etc.
- (h) The right of positive health of body and mind, so far as this could be secured by the widest possible establishment throughout the country, by systematic effort, of the Unani and Vedic systems of medicines, also

natural cure systems and establishment of effective propaganda in the country for the choice of proper nutritive food, daily health exercises, health resorts and regular sports, etc.

- (g) The right of extermination of fell diseases such as tuberculosis, malaria, leprosy, etc., by Indian methods of treatment, conducted by qualified State doctors, in situ and on tour, for the purpose of administering maximum relief to suffering population and practical sanitary education to the masses.

In Mashriqi's view, all citizens were equal before the course of law, irrespective of religion, caste, creed, sex, rank, birth, position, or wealth. No liability attached to any citizen by reason of his (or her) religion, caste, creed, sex, birth, position or poverty, in regard to public employment, office of power or honour, and in the exercise of any trade or calling according to law and morals and not clashing with other people's interest. All citizens were to have equal rights and duties in regard to roads, schools, places of public resort, water-fountains, reservoirs, tanks, wells maintained out of state or local funds, or dedicated by private persons for the use of general public. No person was to be deprived of his liberty, nor was his dwelling or property to be entered, sequestered, frozen or confiscated, save in accordance with law³⁴.

No person was to be detained without trial in a regular court of law and conviction thereafter. If state reasons necessitated his

detention compensation on equitable basis was to be paid to his family in case of his being the bread-winner. No person was to be kept under police vigilance except by an official intimation to him to that effect, nor the private correspondence of any suspected person, already convicted to be censored except with a clear intimation on the correspondence to that effect. The period of imprisonment of every person under trial was to count as period of punishment in case of conviction. In case of honourable acquittal the State was to adequately compensate the person charged for the loss he had sustained during trial. Corporal punishment was forbidden. Capital punishment for treason, espionage, desertion to enemy might be inflicted, but not for minor political offence. Capital punishment for moral crimes was subject to the mercy of the State, but nearest blood or conjugal relations might settle on blood-money³⁵.

Every citizen was free to move throughout the country and to stay and settle in any part thereof, to acquire property in accordance with law, to follow any legitimate trade or calling, and to be treated equally with regard to legal prosecution or protection in all parts of the country. Governors of Provinces were to be in direct charge of operation on such fundamental rights and were to see that no trespass on the liberty of individual was made by the law enforcement agencies³⁶.

No person was to submit to any adverse religious instruction, imparted in a school or college or in any public institution meant for general good against his (or her) will if an adult, or against

the will of persons exercising the authority of parent or guardian if below the age of 16 years who were to determine the religious education of their children. Every child had the right of attending a school without attending the adverse religious instruction at the school, and every person the right of getting benefit from a hospital without submitting to its adverse religious lectures, if the school and hospital were receiving public money, or State grant, or both³⁷.

The state was to be the equal guardian of every religion in respect of promotion of ideas of virtuous life, moral living, human relationship, sympathetic deeds, social service and absolute patriotism and loyalty to the State. The State was not to permit the growth of ideas undermining home-life, fundamental human relations, peaceful and religious life, established religious beliefs, peaceful activities or established law and order, on the pretence of human liberty and progress. The State was to put a ban on all vicious literature, immoral ideologies and institutions, obscene exhibitions, advertisements and news, and revolutionary religious or political propaganda made for the purpose of altering the basic structure of society³⁸.

Taking into account interests of individuals attached to specific groups, certain provisions were made in the case of farmers. The state was to provide instruments from time to time for the purpose of relieving agricultural indebtedness in the country through :

- (a) curtailment of excessive interests on peasant debts by

pecially appointed executive officials, as in pre-British period,

- (b) direct control of usury by legislation from time to time, and the fixing of minimum rate of interest from time to time, ~~in general~~,
- (c) Provision of State and co-operative banks, additional utilization of State and Private banks for advancement of rural credit at very low rate of interest with the proviso that a peasant was not normally to be advanced money from such banks greater than his annual income except for purposes of capital construction or adoption of better ^a means of cultivation,
- (d) Specific preventive legislation against the intimidation of peasantry by Police or other State officials,
- (e) special provision to the effect that justice in the case of peasant was to be prompt, cheap and in situ,
- (f) laying down of preventive rules for courts as well as counsels against excessive litigation in case of peasantry³⁹.

The State was to protect all indigenous industries and was to take active and effective steps for the revival of defunct industries which were mainly cottage industries and for which India had been famous from a long time. The small peasant was not to be subjected to flat tax. Small peasants, whose number exceeded that of the big landlords whose holding, when compared with the holdings of a citizen of the same standing and position, entitle him to pay

nothing to the State. It was, therefore, stipulated that in Free India, whatever its cost to the State, within thirty years from the attainment of freedom, Equality was to be established between the urban and the rural tax-payer in the matter of payment of taxes on net incomes, whether in the form of income-tax or of land-revenue, and that land-revenues was to be charged on a graded scale in very much the same manner as taxes on graded incomes in urban areas. It was also stipulated that the State should accommodate itself to such situation from the beginning, and that token exemptions of uneconomic holdings and reductions as well as increases in land-revenues were to be announced by it at frequent intervals during the thirty years fixed above, in order to get the small peasantry of India to feel the benefits of freedom from the very start, and thus accommodate themselves to the new order of things⁴⁰.

Village Panchayat System, based on the conception of self-rule in villages in pre-British times, was to be introduced meeting the following requirements⁴¹:

- (i) The securing of a systematic uniformity in the matter of internal administration of villages and its freedom ^{from} ~~from~~ the disturbing influences of the urban executive officials, also village revenue collection functionaries and police officials, etc.,
- (ii) a systematic taking up by the village panchayat of small as well as large uncognizable disputes with a view to reducing litigation in villages to the irreducible minimum,

- (iii) a direct linking up of the village panachayat with the head of the district with a view to making justice prompt, cheap and in situ as far as possible, and elucidating other matters connected with the administration; eg., the spread of literacy, the amelioration of backward classes etc;
- (iv) the holding of the Grand District Panchayat twice a year or more, in order to keep the whole district one compact unit in political, military, social, economical and educational matters.
- (v) Backward classes of all communities residing in the villages were to be given their due shares in the panachayats, commensurate with their population, the amount of labour done, industry held, quota of military help provided, etc.

The uplift of backward classes of all communities residing in villages was to take place through an organized and well thought out system of revival of indigenous cottage industries through the medium of village panachayats, which would take it up as a specific programme of the reconstruction of villages⁴². It was to be the duty of the State to provide facilities of expert advice and knowledge with a view to rehabilitate defunct and other industries in the shortest possible period. In the case of Labour it was provided that compulsory labour, i.e. that without adequate pay for work done was to cease and be dealt with as a criminal offence. Human traction in places where other means of traction were

possible was to be abolished forth with. The state was to safeguard the interests of industrial workers and was to secure for them a decent living wage, healthy conditions of work, limited hours of labour, sickness, and casual leave, indemnities for diseases incident to professions, sanitary quarters and facilities for education for children of laborers working in regimental concerns, innocent diversions to counteract fatigue, monotony of life and atmosphere of serfdom, etc. No labour organization in the country was to be allowed to function unless it was a bonafide organization having declared objects strictly limited to the labour conditions of a particular locality, and unless it was secured that no person in it was to be a member unless he was a labourer himself⁴³.

The state was to devise rules for protection of women workers all over the country in conformity with the conditions prevailing in different factories and work theatres and was to make adequate provision for leave during maternity period and for the upkeep of the child during infancy in the form of a special maintenance allowance, also for the care of the child during work hours. Child-labour was to be discouraged in so far as it related to employment of children in localities possessing facilities for education, and if circumstances aggravate against the spread of literacy in that locality such labour was to be prohibited altogether⁴⁴.

Education based on indigenous philosophy has usually been considered as the Prime requirement both for defence against undesirable alien influences and for maintenance of human dignity.

Indeed, justice, freedom and peace could be more easily fostered among knowledgeable persons, who, among other things, should be motivated to see that "the human person is endowed with a dignity which the very good of the community presupposes and must, for its own sake, respect"⁴⁵. Education should also inculcate the ideas that the human person is endowed with certain fundamental rights. Education is likely to convince people that basic equality of men makes prejudices of race, class or caste, and racial discrimination, offences against human nature and the dignity of the person.

Taking into account the pivotal role of education producing human consciousness worthy of life in human society, Mashriqi advocated suitable provisions for education as a fundamental human right. All citizens were to have the right to free elementary education.

The system of education was to be very cheap and accessible. Simplicity of equipment and living was to be one of its salient features. Tendencies in residential life militating against ^{The development of manly qualities} or inducing luxurious and loose life, were to be discouraged. In connection with accessibility and cheapness, the State was to recognise the existence of such indigenous institutions as maktib and madrissahs of Muslims and Patshalas, vidya mandirs of non-Muslims. The State was also to utilize annual gathering of people at fairs and pilgrimages of holy places for the purpose of educating the masses in matters pertaining to their uplift⁴⁶

The system was to be based on the education of intellect in such a way as to make the educated person possess enough initiative

to earn his own livelihood by crafts, or possess organizing capacity for business, or otherwise become a useful member of the society. It was to equip youths for hard work and eventful and adventurous life. It was to produce useful, practical and patriotic youths fit for purpose of filling the highest office of the state as well as conducting successfully the most advanced private industrial, commercial, economic and scientific enterprise.

In the sphere of female education, curriculum suitable for the development of homely qualities was to be devised. Mashriqi was against female educational institutions moulded on European lines that led to indifference to womanly qualities and to religious urge. The system was also to allow genuine intellectual activity. Mashriqi wanted to see maximization of knowledge by single-minded pursuit of the same. No distraction- e.g. loose life- was to be tolerated. Absence of cram-work and dread of examination were to be among salient features of the educational system. Every school and college was to arrange for religious instruction, initial handicrafts and military training of suitable standards conducive to physical health and effective defense of the country⁴⁷.

Institutions of knowledge were to enjoy highest respect, immune from the operation of ordinary law except with the permission of relevant heads of educational institutions. Political activity in such institutions was to be "severely disallowed" for receiving full benefit of education. Such restrictions were not to hinder "due acquaintance with political affairs for the youth in order to keep up the tradition of sacrifice and patriotic vigour in

them"⁴⁸.

In this chapter the discussion has centred mainly on provisions which Mashriqi made in his Constitution with regard to development and self-realization of an individual person in ~~the~~ ^{The} context of the Indian sub-continent. But emphasis on development of the individual is rooted in the idea of human dignity; it is the human person in whom dignity inheres. That is, it is the mankind as a type, as a species, which is bearer of dignity. In the next chapter we look at Mashriqi's views on the realization of the dignity of mankind as a species.

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CHAPTER 6 UNITY OF MANKIND

Unity of mankind was the second most important value in Mashriqi's political thought, the first one being human dignity. Indeed, he conceived of unity of mankind as an operative principle of dignity of humankind as such. Human species, for Mashriqi, had a destiny - conquest of the Universe and eventual fusion into Godhead. The whole process was to be accomplished on the basis of evolution, as it had occurred in history so far. His view of evolution differed from most Western thinkers in that he considered it to be a plan set in motion by God himself. It was envisaged to be accomplished by man : achievement of his destiny was man's test. His success was to bring him face to face with God, even fusion into Godhead. That would also constitute highest dignity bestowed upon man as a species.

Contrary to the views of many eminent natural scientists who either believe in physical evolution or psycho-social evolution of man, Mashriqi believe in both; the former to be promoted and accelerated by the latter. According to him man's physical evolution and transformation were necessary to capture and colonize the universe, and realize man's destiny of meeting God face to face. Conquest and capture of universe were to^{be} effected on the basis of knowledge of the universe for the attainment of which man had been bestowed with proper apparatus namely organs of observation and brain. But full utilization of human potentialities could occur only if mankind as a whole undertook the work of

conquest of nature. Man could succeed only if the task of conquest of nature was undertaken by the whole mankind as a species without dividing its attention in inter-communal or inter-human disputes. Mashriqi deemed unity of mankind to be an essential prerequisite for man to successfully reach his destiny. In this chapter we will discuss Mashriqi's notion of human destiny, its achievement through complete knowledge of nature under the aegis of efforts by united mankind, and the agents who could bring unity among mankind.

As indicated above natural scientists have differed on the nature of human destiny. Such differences were revealed, apart from other writings, in the essays written by eminent scientists and other writers in connection with centenary celebrations of the publication of Charles Darwin's The Origin of Species, held in 1959. Such essays have been compiled in a book appropriately titled : The Destiny of Man¹. According to Julian Huxley "pre-human evolution has come up against what we may call the biological barrier. Only man has been able to cross the barrier into the new psycho-social domain."² In emphasizing psycho-social evolution not only is man seen not to undergo any further biological evolution, other species are also seen to be incapable of any new evolution. In the opinion of Huxley there are two reasons for the incapability of other species to evolve into something different and better equipped than man. First, once a dominant species has come into existence it is impossible that a second advance from that group or even from an earlier group will take place. An evolutionary advance fills an evolutionary vacuum and, once successful, deprives

previous dominant types of any similar evolutionary opportunity. Now that man has become dominant, he will not allow any previous group to become dominant. Secondly, major evolution has come to an end : the only direction in which evolution is likely to occur is in the direction of better brains and minds³.

Julian Huxley seems to rule out man's further biological evolution : nevertheless, he believes in man's evolution which he describes as psycho-social evolution. He takes man to be a unique kind of organism who has entered the human, psycho-social phase and is "the sole representative of a new realm or grade of being;"⁴ in which "What evolves is not (or is only to a limited extent) gene-systems and bodily organizations, but human cultures--social institutions, laws, arts, sciences, cultural systems, techniques, codes of morals,"⁵ The setting up of values and the exercise of moral judgements, according to Huxley, is an "inevitable consequence of the new capacities of man, his capacities framing and expressing concepts, for rational imaginative thought"⁶. Thus we can say that man has now reached "a point at which his knowledge of evolutionary process has enabled him to begin defining his own place and role in it, or (for we must not be afraid of big words!) of starting on a scientific exploration of his destiny"⁷. It is now thought that it is our business as men to discover and to realise new and richer possibilities for life, a greater degree of fulfillment for ourselves and for the evolutionary process of which man is the spearhead. And according to Huxly, "the time is now ripe for an intensive and scientific study of psycho-social evolution

and the possibilities and limitations of mankind"⁸.

In his views on psycho-cultural, or psycho-social evolution, Huxley is supported by many reputed scholars from the field of Biological Sciences. The French Biologist, Lecomte Du Nouy, believes in organic changes in man as well as in man's moral evolution. As he puts it, "everything has taken place as if, ever since the birth of original cell, Man had been willed: not as a superior animal capable of speaking and of using his hands, but as the ^{support-} ~~seat~~ of the brain, the organ of conscience, of intelligence, the seat of human dignity, and the tool of further evolution"⁹. To him, goal of evolution is the "realization of a morally perfect being, completely liberated from human passions --egotism, greed, lust of power--hereditary chains, and physiological bondages". This, in his view, will not completely sever ties between the flesh and the spirit "but simply the escape from the domination of the flesh"¹⁰.

Du Nouy goes further and says that in the development of man's conscience lies the possibility of his immortality. In his view, the destiny of man is not limited to his existence on earth. Man exists less by the action which he undertakes during physical life than by consequences he leaves behind. He likens man's life on earth to a shooting star~~z~~ that leaves a trail either modest or brilliant. "The sparking trail of the evolution of spirit", Du Nouy believes, "is blazed on the dark background of eternity by the combined individual wakes. This is a kind of impersonal immortality of which we are sure. True, individual immortality escapes rational

conception, but is hardly questionable if we admit the reality of the wake"¹¹.

George Simpson who has argued against Du Nouy's views on the purposiveness of the evolutionary process, nevertheless holds that "responsibility is rooted in the true nature of man. It has arisen from and is inherent, in his evolutionary history and status", and further personal responsibility "is a responsibility not only with relationship to the self but also with relationship to others, ultimately embracing all mankind, a responsibility for cooperation and for both giving and taking aid"¹².

As to contents of psycho-cultural evolution, Huxley presents a list : fuller living, sounder ideas and beliefs, protection of natural and cultural variety, proper educational principles and systems and attention to inner life. In the realm of fuller living, in his view, man has made some advances; life expectation has been increased, the level of health raised, knowledge of nature increased with consequent banishment of fear. Scientific knowledge has led to refinement of ideas and beliefs. However, there is need to deepen our knowledge of the human mind with the need to undertake survey of human possibilities and some audit of non-realization of such possibilities. Huxley emphasizes protection of both natural and cultural variety, but more on the romantic basis of wonder and enjoyment rather than for strictly scientific purposes; "We must combat everything that threatens the variety of interest needed for human fulfillment, the extermination of wild life, over mechanization, boredom of mass production and

conformity, the spoiling of natural beauty, the destruction of cultural traditions"¹³. In the reform of educational principles Huxley emphasizes more prestige and more money for education. With regard to inner life he raises a number of questions which he thinks need to be answered. How can man solve psychological conflict, how attain inner peace and spiritual harmony? What is the value of mystical experiences of self-transcendence and can the techniques of attaining them, like Yoga, be readily communicated and learnt. Nevertheless Huxley sums up his general programme to promote psycho-social evolution in the following words:

This means a revolutionary change-the emergence of a new interpretative and directive system of thought, a new dominant organization of belief, ideas and values. Older thought-systems and earlier methods are no longer adequate to cope with our new knowledge and our new predicament. Mankind can and must study itself objectively and functionally, applying its resources of scientific method and disciplined imagination to interpret the phenomenon¹⁴.

Many writers in the psycho-social trend of thought believe that the main mechanism of evolution in the human phase is not wholly unconscious, the slow automatic pressure of natural selection. On the contrary, they think that it is more or less conscious. It will be the pressure of ideas and feelings, desires and purposes that would result in psycho-social selection. Huxley puts it epigrammatically: "the biological phase of evolution started when matter became self-producing, the psycho-social phase when mind became self-producing"¹⁵.

Optimism in the psycho-social domain is not shared by a number

of scientists. Sir Charles Darwin (grandson of Charles Darwin) believes that Huxley's hope to control the world's destiny in a spiritual manner "would seem to imply that he can have some freedom of choice in his planning". According to Darwin such freedom can be there only if we can retain a high degree of prosperity; if the increase in numbers goes on, so that higher population could not be supported by available resources, this would destroy the hope of keeping control. In considering man's destiny, Darwin believes there are two alternative possibilities to look at : 1) to find a way of limiting population consciously by some sort of world agreement, and 2) in case of failure, natural selection will return as the main controlling force of our lives¹⁶. In Darwin's view, time had already run out. His "broad conclusion as to our destiny is that it is nearly certain that within a century or so the numbers of mankind will have so increased that Natural Selection will return to the place it used to occupy three centuries ago, when it was the chief control in the lives of our ancestors. In the struggle for survival man will have little energy to spare for the sort of controlled evolution that Huxley hopes for"¹⁷. Given such a possibility of overpopulation and uncontrolled struggle, Darwin thinks, the "ideal of a peaceful universal world government is doomed, unless we can solve the problem of limiting populations by some, conscious world policy"¹⁸. In response to the view of Darwin and others like him, Huxley puts population increase as the first on his agenda saying; "at anything like the present rate, it will quite soon bring about increase in frustration and misery; more

human beings will realize fewer possibilities. A drastic slowing down of multiplication is a prerequisite for greater fulfillment"¹⁹. Darwin, however, does not give sufficient importance to his struggle for life does not necessarily take place between individual persons. It can also take place between groups of men, between communities. In that case we need not think that the struggle will be one in which the selfishness of the individual will be the key to survival. There will still be great importance for the spirit of selflessness which promotes the welfare of the whole community. There may arise a question as to the size of such community. It might be quite a large country but it could not include the whole human race. It is the essence of natural selection as process that it has not to settle which among the various peoples is to survive and prosper at the expense of the rest.

Some writers believe, as does Mashriqi, in the possibility of further physical evolution. Bishop Wand gives the example of athletes who are continually setting up fresh records and which seems to suggest that under modern methods of training the human organism can become steadily capable of better adaptation to its environment. By the same token he thinks if our descendants "ever succeed in making their way to the planets, there will be necessary a quite inconceivable adaptation of their physical frame to the exigencies of the new atmosphere (or lack of it) before they can remain there with any comfort"²⁰.

Mashriqi believes in further organic evolution and puts the

whole trend in perspective when he writes:

Man was created through the evolution of lesser creatures, but time was consumed in the finalization of this immense revolution, so much so that even transformation of one species into the next took thousands of years. During this long period the earth also remained the scene of countless geographical and physical chemical and structural changes-and still is. The process of evolution has not ended; in fact, it will continue as long as the earth and the heavens exist. It is very likely from this point of view, that man may, through the evolution of his powers, capabilities, knowledge and effort become even a better creation which may be closer to the Creator in respect of qualities²¹.

Mashriqi's belief in evolution was total in the sense that he rejected the view that man was the final culmination of evolution. He believed that in the evolution, so far, it was the man who had been created in the best posture. Man was to evolve further to meet God. He quotes from the Quran about man's destiny of meeting God:

Whoever looks forward (with hope and awe) to meeting God let him be ready for it, for, behold, the end set by God is bound to come-and He alone is all hearing all knowing. ²²

Mashriqi criticizes Western writers who, he thinks, are not sincere in their thinking about man's place and role in the universe. His view was that "The perverse thinking of Man under the stress of man-made prejudices" resulted in the invention of engines for human destruction; it had led him to hold that human physical organs have already attained full development and even perfection, and that little possibility exists of their evolution to ^{higher} ~~more~~ or much different forms. He described such a view as a psychology of dismay due to narrow thinking caused by low human aims". According to him, "a bar had thus been frivolously and arbitrarily placed at the present Man as the 'climax of creation'. And this, after an

unrestricted irresistible and systematic evolution of millions upon millions of years. which looks unwarranted and prima facie absurd"²³.

There do exist certain clues among Western thinkers pointing to possibility of bodily transformation in man. A very early clue comes from Francis Bacon who, in Mashriqi's opinion, put scientific knowledge on firm foundation²⁴. Thomas Case says of Bacon: "in dealing with man he at once grasps human nature as a whole: man both as an individual and as a social being; body and soul in their connection; the soul too as a whole, its nature as well as its faculties, and all its faculties both logical and moral; and lastly, man's future state as a whole and not as a mere immortality of soul, nor as a mere resurrection of body, since not only the understanding but the affections purified, not only the spirit but the body changed, shall be advanced to immortality"²⁵.

Perhaps the greatest clue comes from Darwin himself. Of course, in tracing the descent of man, Darwin did emphasize that "with all his noble qualities, with sympathy which feels for the most debased, with benevolence which extends not only to other men but to the humblest of the living creatures, with his god-like intellect which has penetrated into the movements and constitution of the solar system-with all these exalted powers-man still bears in his bodily frame the indelible stamp of his lowly origin"²⁶. At the same time, however, Darwin expressed a hope regarding further evolution of man, saying, "Man may be excused for feeling some pride at having a reason, thought not through his own exertions, to

the very summit of the organic scale; and the fact of his having thus ^{risen} ~~reason~~, instead of having been aboriginally placed there, may give him hope for a still higher destiny in the distant future"²⁷.

Mashriqi had some Muslim predecessors who thought of man's bodily transformation. Rumi (1207-1273), an acknowledged Sufi Master and thinker, wrote :

First man appeared with class of inorganic things,
Next he passed therefrom into that of plants.
Again the great Creator, as you know,
Drew man out of the animal into the human state.

Thus man passed from one order of nature of another,
Till he became wise and knowing and strong as he is now.
Of his first souls he has now no remembrance.
And he will be again changed from his present soul²⁸.

And again:

I died as mineral and became a plant,
I died as plant and rose to animal,
I died as animal and I was man,
Why should I fear? When was I less by dying?
Yet once more I shall as man, to soar
With angels blest; but even from angelhood
I must pass on: All except God doth perish.
When I have sacrificed my angel soul,
I shall become what no mind ever conceived²⁹.



As a true disciple of Rumi, Iqbal (who left Cambridge when Mashriqi entered in 1906) "regarded the question of immortality as one of biological evolution, and not a problem to be decided by arguments of purely metaphysical nature, as some philosophers had thought"³⁰. He criticised the "unwarranted modern assumption that man's present structure, mental as well as physiological, is the last world in biological evolution, and that death, regarded as a biological event, has no constructive meaning." He opined: "The

modern world stands in need of biological renewal. It is only by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by an inhuman competition, and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religious and political values"³¹. The world, he said, "needed a Rumi to create an attitude of hope, and to kindle the fire of enthusiasm for life".

Mashriqi seems to derive his views on the union of man with Supreme Intelligence from his study of the Quran. The Quran lays the utmost emphasis on the conquest of Nature for which man has been provided with suitable organs : proper use of such organs could create in man such Godly qualities as omniscience, omnipresence. Added to this was the Quranic notion that God poured from His spirit into man. Mashriqi thought that man's knowledge could be revolutionized. So far, man had depended on ideal, mathematical, non-natural units in his scientific investigations. A new line of thought concerning knowledge of life could show "man the way to evolve himself to higher spiritual forms of life akin to that of the Supreme Intelligence that pervades the Universe"³². The conquest of nature presumed that man should become omnipresent and omniscient. Serious pursuit of the conquest of nature would be a stepping-stone for man's evolution to higher stages of life. Conquest of nature being man's important aim, man was bound to evolve into something "impervious to all climates and circumstances" - into a 'spirit', into an intelligence which is "all-knowing, all-pervading and all-embracing"³³.

By the time omniscience and omnipresence became more or less the attributed⁴ of the evolving man, the stage would have come, says Mashriqi, where "Man shall have reached the highest pinnacle of his progress by dint of his exclusive colossal efforts as a species, he would have left the Earth by that time, many many long centuries back, to accommodate himself permanently in the celestial bodies"³⁴. Mashriqi, true to his views on evolutionary origin of species, holds that there would remain on Earth the race of 'sluggards' i.e. those who had not kept pace with the evolving man in his march upwards. Such men would go on lingering on earth "as ordinary men doing their lowly duties but entirely cut off - as a fish from horse - from the new race of Universe-conquerors above"³⁵.

Mashriqi bases his case for further organic evolution of man on what he regards as defensible principles. He advances his argument on the basis of his understanding the nature both of universe and of man. As to universe his view is that it must be conquered, captured and colonized by man. His view about man is that he alone is the intelligent being in the universe and stands for the intelligent purpose-that of conquest of the universe. In Mashriqi's view, "inspite of the fact that nature is now being proved to be almost limitless and notwithstanding the assertion that the conquest of nature by man seems a frivolous idea, the incontrovertible fact stands out that if man does not exist here for this purpose and has got no potentialities for his achievements, the whole creation is a meaningless exhibition, the

intelligence possessed by man after an evolution of millions of years from lower animals a purposeless acquisition, and the power so far acquired by man from natural objects a pointless effort, leading nowhere...Conquest of the whole universe must, therefore, be the only objective of the existence of man on earth and shall have to be done against all odds"³⁶.

In Mashriqi's view further human evolution was to take place on the principle of previous evolution which culminated in man. Such principles included cooperation, intensive over-population of the earth, struggle alongwith high human aim to meet God face to face. Such principles will operate again if man's narrow national thinking is minimized, because narrow thinking has led to certain unwarranted suppositions: 1) that no field of man's activity extends beyond this earth; 2) that the resources of earth are primarily and entirely meant to make one nation dominate others and destroy the weak; 3) that struggle for existence is synonymous with man's international struggle; 4) that man's solitary activity lies in the exploitation of lifeless matter of earth for the purposes of making man strong against man; 5) that his investigations, by empirical methods, about human and other life are meant for the preservation or amelioration of the life for the benefit of a particular group of human beings; 6) that life on earth exists mainly for the purpose of consumption by man as food, or for destructions as a defence measure; and 7) that mans struggle for existence as a species against the whole nature for the purpose of capturing it is far-fetched idea³⁷. Mashriqi thinks that these

propositions cannot hold water on the following grounds: a) there is no reason why struggle for existence as a species against the whole of nature should cease in the case of man alone when it has gone on for billions of years in the case of lower animals; b) these propositions necessitate the presumption that the rest of the universe is purposeless, that man has no potentialities further than that he is the product of nature by mere chance, that the universe is devoid even of that Supreme Intelligence which brought intelligent man on earth under a design; c) man's struggle against his own species is unnatural; d) these propositions make man the master of his own destiny in disregard of natural laws ; e) they make nature even a product of mere confusion which is normally revolting to human intelligence, and f) it is improbable that man, with such small powers as he possesses at present as compared with nature, can be the master of his own destiny³⁸.

Mashriqi does not talk of any genetic method to bring changes in man's body to enable him to live on planets other than earth; he visualizes very very long period of process which could lead to transformation in man's body to enable him to conquer the universe. He thinks that for an intelligence to be competent enough to capture the whole universe it is imperative that it would be omniscient and omnipresent. In fact the very structure of the universe in general points out that these qualities cannot be attained by a life of flesh and blood. He adduces an example from human history: man began to move to America hundred and fifty years ago after the discovery of that area by Columbus. Only those left their places to

go to America who where struck hardest by the struggle for existence. In Mashriqi's view Americans now, after a lapse of three hundred years have developed certain distinctive qualities of head, heart and perhaps body over their comrades in Europe. He thinks that in another three hundred years these qualities would become definitely more marked. He is also of the view that sex shall have to vanish at a very early stage of the evolution of man; when whole of the earth becomes nature-minded sex is the likely trait to go. It is thought that biologically it has been only a temporary inheritance by radical changes in physical organs. "Man shall have to choose a much neater, much quicker, all-pervading and overwhelming way of self-production, perhaps akin to that of the original animal when life started, i.e., by constant and interminable fission in order to become as overwhelming and as near to the 'divine' way of existence as possible"³⁹. Omniscience and omnipresence having become more or less the attributes of the evolving "man after a time, it seems evident to Mashriqi that at that stage of development man shall have reached the highest pinnacle of his progress by dint of his exclusive colossal efforts as a species. He would have left this earth by that time to accommodate himself permanently in the celestial bodies and his progeny would have captured and possessed perhaps every nook and corner of the universe through intensive multiplicity and overwhelming dissemination"⁴⁰.

The big task of conquest of nature could only be accomplished if mankind were united. Peace in the world would give opportunity

to each and all to work according to real potential. Given man's capacity of observation and intellect, conquest of nature would proceed at a rapid pace when all mankind would be set on it. How could unity be brought about?

Unity of mankind has been a subject of discussion by a number of theorists. Stoics advocated cosmopolitanism. From among Christian thinkers, a fundamental principle of Dante's political doctrine was that the world should be united under one sovereign rule⁴¹. A universal empire would eliminate conflict, alongwith the smaller states, in which ruling groups were perpetually in conflict with their own subjects as well as other states. Universal order, by eliminating corruption among badly-ruled states, would enhance freedom and welfare of the ruled.

Dante's supreme argument in favour of a "World-Government" is one which closely resembles that of Mashriqi, with one major difference. The difference is that in Mashriqi's view the task of united mankind is to seek conquest of the universe. Otherwise, Dante, like Mashriqi, believed that humanity's task was to actualize all that the human intellect was capable of. Man should produce all the arts and sciences which God meant him to work out. Such a task, said Dante, could not be carried out by individual persons having short lives, nor by any city, nor even by a kingdom; all of them were limited and subject to destruction. "What is needed to produce human culture is the collective effort of all humanity properly coordinated, unimpeded by warfare and other forms of strife. To avoid such strifes a single supernational sovereignty

is needed"⁴².

Mashriqi's vision of society is universalist in the sense that all mankind can become one society. In such a society, each individual will be absorbed in advancing the welfare of the human species as a whole. Ideally, therefore, there will be no conflict among individuals, either against each other, themselves or against the society. Historically, the such has not happened. Man having free will and being prone to distractions, has not always behaved in ways conducive to unification of mankind. Man's inclination to submit to distractions led to formation and/or strengthening of self-centered groups.

Single-minded pursuit of conquest of nature may be possible by establishment of peace on earth, which may be the result of unity of mankind as a species⁴³. Struggle for existence as a species and urge for the possession of new lands outside Earth could only reach the climax if this Earth became intensively over-populated day by day through peace and plenty resulting in the extreme dissemination of the human sperm, extreme appreciation and amelioration of human life, wholesale cooperation among human beings, total pooling of heads and hands for the purpose of intensive utilization of Earth's resources, etc. Overpowering of all other nations by one or more nations could not produce such result.

To achieve unity of mankind, Mashriqi had in mind two groups of people.

- 1) Muslims with practice of original and revived Islam, and
- 2) Scientists, with knowledge of nature and potential to decide

which faith, scripture, were true and be followed, and which were false and, therefore, left aside. We will discuss the two in turn. "The knowledge of the plan," in the opinion of the Allama, "was revealed to the last Messenger of god (peace be upon him) in its perfected form and is embodied in the Quran in its original and pristine shape. the Quran is the only book in the Divine Library which has remained safe from man's transgression; not a letter of it has been changed"⁴⁴. He was convinced that the essential unity of the Divine Message embodied in the Holy Quran and its unique and scientific importance can prove to be the practical basis on which the future unity of man or, at least, its future religious inter-tolerance could most surely be based. The Western scientist could at least take the Quran as the basis. One faith and abolishing all factions could establish one brotherhood, one faith and fraternity⁴⁵.

Mashriqi, however, had no illusions about his scheme of one faith for future unity and inter-religious tolerance. He therefore, said that "this scheme, though logically was the most exact and a surely successful operation, cannot in actual practice produce immediate and complete results"⁴⁶. Mashriqi held the view that Muslims could work to create unity among the mankind as a whole. Islam is the only religion which, according to Mashriqi, aims to unify mankind on the basis of Tauheed and its immediate purpose is to create a people capable of uniting the whole world and the entire mankind as a single fraternity. It provides solid and concrete, natural and agreeable grounds for the unity of human

beings as a homogenous whole⁴⁷. The Quran is the only message of God which has the firm basis of being a universal code of law for the entire human race in order to guide it to its ultimate destiny, as it claims that God sent the Last Prophet (peace be upon him) with Guidance and True Faith⁴⁸. Islam, therefore, enjoins upon its followers to remain fraternity. The Muslims are, in Mashriqi's view, the only people who, despite their present-day dissension and disunity, have the potentialities to develop themselves into one brotherhood as ordained by the Quran. The Unity of the Muslims is, in its turn, likely to increase their power and influence facilitating them to conquer the world as the early knowers of the Quran took up the programme and direction, and enveloped the greater part of the known world in a few decades. Thus the absolute manifestation of Truth paved the way for the total domination of the Right Programme⁴⁹. Mashriqi further argues that God ordained the Muslims to be an all-pervading and dominant so that it may seek the collective salvation of humanity by launching a struggle against the hostile forces and bring the mankind under one rule, sharing the common submission and service to one common God⁵⁰.

Mashriqi was not advocating world domination; he was advocating world leadership by the Muslims. This means that Muslims had to prepare themselves in a comprehensive manner, including the military aspect to properly exercise such leadership. He justifies Islam's world supremacy on the ground that Islam being the straight path and right programme of action) stands for the collective good and salvation of the entire human race. Again, in the Divine scheme

of things, only the people who are God-fearing and true believers will be the "inheritors of power and authority"⁵¹. As Islam makes no distinction between the white and black, the Islamic World rule, according to him, is neither a naked struggle for power nor an attempt for the satisfaction of political lust. Thus Islam, according to him, provides the natural and common basis for the international harmony aiming at integration of the entire mankind. According to Mashriqi, the Quran does not only teach unity but is the unity itself.

Islam, says Mashriqi, came to eliminate conflict, create unity of action and gather together people in one entity. The Past revelation and the whole earth was to be the arena of its activity for establishing unity among people. Its main purpose was to make people obedient servants of God and lead them to the basic unity and natural and species-inspired attachment. Islam was an open invitation against religious, racial, territorial and cultural divisions making for disunity among mankind. To end such disunity, Islam invited to a practical belief in the unity of God and practical demonstration of serving God. Service to one God was envisaged by Islam to be a natural and acceptable basis of international reconciliation and humankind's unity of action. And this was the only common basis which could make possible mankind's coming together and living in fellowship. Mashriqi takes Islam to mean that all prophets brought the same message, that they were not trying to create new religious groups or sect; they wanted to bring mankind together on the common basis of action, believing God to

sovereign whose law was to be followed by all. Not to create sectarian differences, not to ignore the goal of unity among mankind in one's actions and make reconciliation among people as the aim of one's efforts - this was Islam. To do otherwise would result in divisiveness and ultimate loss⁵².

Early Islam, says Mashriqi, was successful in uniting a great proportion of mankind then living in the world. And all this happened because of belief in the unity of God and, consequent, belief in the unity of whole mankind. European social and scientific developments making religion synonymous with private beliefs, had no place in Islam. Islam's message to mankind was that religion was neither national and racial, nor individual and private, but purely human and that its purpose was to unite and organise mankind despite all its natural distinctions⁵³.

Looked at superficially the dos and dont's of the Quran contain formulas of religiosity and righteousness. In Mashriqi's view, God, in His infinite Wisdom, has kept in view in all Quranic directives the policy that followers of Islam attain universal dominance. Such characteristics promoted by Quranic directives did result in the distinctive place which Muslims in early history came to enjoy among nations of the world. Contained in such directives was the recurrent invitation to mankind's natural unity, which in the case of early Muslims, found expression in collective efforts, centrally organized activity, punctuality, and integrativeness. Also contained in the directives were the claims of unity of mankind as a species training for self-control,

spirited effect of equality, and essentials of mankind's solidarity⁵⁴.

For Mashriqi solidarity of mankind was the purpose, end, of the creation of man; divisiveness among Muslims appeared to him to be tantamount to infidelity, declaring the persons involved in divisiveness to be out of the pale of Islam, out of Islamic society. Unity solidarity, among Muslims had a religious, spiritual significance.

And had thy Sustainer so willed, he could surely have made all mankind one single community, but [He willed it otherwise, and so] continue to be divergent [all of them,] save those upon whom thy Sustainer has bestowed His grace. And to this end [of being single community] has He created them. [all]. And [in case of disunity] word of thy Sustainer shall be fulfilled : Most certainly will I fill hell with [those] confusing others and [with] masses, all together⁵⁵.

Acquisition of Islamic faith was to establish peace on the face of the earth to save mankind from mutual clashes. Islam, that is, was a religion conceived to promote qualities to make people become inheritors of earth as well as united. Followers of all religions were to be gathered together on the basis of the idea of perpetual peace and rule on earth by united mankind. Islam was to uproot all divisions that existed on the basis of narrow conceptions of religions. Islam was to be conceived in the widest terms of imparting knowledge of principles to establish enduring rule on earth on the basis of unity of mankind⁵⁶. Belief in the unity of God - Oneness of God - means destruction of all other gods whether in the form of personal interests or in the form of unwarranted emphasis on primordial ties. With belief in God a person overcomes all distractions that could become hinderances in

the way of brotherhood, mutual help and mutual kindness among human beings. Indeed, unity among people is an evidence of the belief in the unity of the Creator. A nation whose members demonstrate unity among themselves is a nation that has whole-heartedly accepted the unity of God and is committed to serve God. An acceptance is whole-hearted when it is demonstrated in action. Mashriqi argued that as the principle of unity of God is promotive of unity among people, active demonstration of unity would mean belief in the unity of God.

The League of Nations was a world organization created around the time when Mashriqi was busy in writing his Tazkira. The United Nations was another effort at organizing the world into unity of a sort. Mashriqi was not satisfied at such efforts. In his view, "Vicious intention of man against man is perhaps still there in the brains of the politicians who uphold the idea of world government"⁵⁷.

As the Muslims were in disarray, the second group to whom Mashriqi turned were the scientists. Mashriqi's convictions regarding the scientists' role in politics had, in a way, been matured by 1931 when he himself plunged into politics to head a reform movement, specifically aimed at promoting self-confidence among Muslims to regain their place in the politics of India⁵⁸.

In 1951 he proposed the same role at world level. Mashriqi wrote to scientists of the world in July 1951 proposing a world conference to consider and decide that scientists take over reigns of government in their countries. Such a 'rule of the scientists', in his view, would lead to end of wars and man, afforded peace

thereby, would be put on the course of the conquest of nature. Response from the scientists addressed by him was not an encouraging one. He privately circulated letter was, later, published in 1955, as a pamphlet under the title, The Human Problem⁵⁹.

In Mashriqi's view scientists could bring about unity of mankind in two ways :

- i) Scientific explanation of religion which could unite mankind.
- ii) Taking over power in society and making decisions for the welfare of society as a whole.

Regarding scientific interpretation of religion, Mashriqi believed that religion which God sent to man through His Prophets was meant to gather mankind together. What happened in fact, was that people, out of animosity and revolt among themselves, got separated from one other. This separation and division, after the 'science of unity' had been given to man! Disunion, therefore, has been a result of animosity nourished by one man against another, or by one group against others. The message brought by prophets consisted in science - of the way(s) to unite man. Religious message has been one and apparent differences in religious faiths can be overcome by a scientific study of religion. Scientific study of religion becomes possible when we try to know the real nature of the religious Message.

In a letter writtren in November 1924, Mashriqi stated that In his attempt to explain rise and fall of nations, he had struck a deeper note of the union of mankind into one ever-obiding and great fraternity, combined on one eternal truth working for one eternal aim and possessing one rational, Natural and Eternal Religion, i.e. the Religion of Peace, Progress, Evolution and eventual extinction in god-head⁶⁰.

The second way in which scientists could bring about unity among mankind was their scientific profession. They possessed supreme knowledge of Nature and it was "incumbent on the Scientists to lead Mankind to that purpose for which it was created and not leave the Human race to the mercy of the capitalists and the 'merry-makers'. The very idea that the Destiny of man be in the hands of those who are compeltely ignorant of the 'will' and 'purpose' of Nature is revolting and is a glaring instance of the collectively perverse intelligence of man"⁶¹.

Scientists alone possessed intelligence literally superior to all the rest of Mankind, and his verdicts - even their theories - on Nature in all branches of Knowledge had been accepted by Man as TRUTHS. Scientists alone, he declared, have brought "Power, Prosperity and Beauty on Earth"⁶².

Mashriqi hold that Scientists alone can look at Mankind from the point of view of Nature; religion or race, caste or colour, geographical barries or historical traditions do not appeal to them. They do not belong to any 'sect' of men or 'religion' and are not swayed away by 'belief' or ideologies. Their Revelation is from

the Book of Nature itself - which is the only truth existing. Their inventions are entirely for the benefit of the whole Mankind and they do not grudge their becoming public property. They alone can come forward with valid reasons as to channels in which the collective activities of Mankind should lie, what his natural line of action should be as a whole in contradistinction to actions of the "politicians" that they undertake "through the lust of their own passions and ignorance of the ultimate purpose of Nature"⁶³. Scientists if they come to lead Mankind politically, are sure to level up all barriers of race, religion, caste, colour, etc. They would equalize distribution of wealth all over the world; equalise, as far as possible, the status of the rich and the poor and mould human mind to one comity of nations and one fraternity. They were sure to look objectively at all struggles created by capital or labour, and give them their proper weight. All differences between the rich and the poor would, thereby, disappear, exploitation of man by man would vanish and human politics would be seen and disposed of from the viewpoint of the stern dispensation of Nature. Capital and labour, in Mashriqi's view, were both subservient to the intelligence. As such, possessing the importance and the power of thinking, scientists alone had the locus standi to stand aloft over all other human beings as their Masters, Disposers and Leader on this earth. "All Scientists, being the possessors of One Truth all the world over, must necessarily hold out the One 'Truth of Politics', based on the dire exigencies of Nature alone-i.e., the polity which would make the whole human race run on natural lines

with the sole object of evolving Mankind to higher forms of creation"⁶⁴.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Mashriqi, born to a religious family, was educated in modern institutions of higher learning including the Cambridge University, England, and attained degrees in sciences, arts and languages. He adopted education as his profession with his first appointment as Vice-Principal and Professor of Mathematics in a College. He traced his origin to a family which served in high offices under the Mughal rulers of India and Sikh rulers of the Punjab. His father was a keen observer of Muslim affairs when India had gone under the rule of the British, Ottoman empire was fast declining and Safavid Persia was under pressure of Western imperialist powers. Mashriqi is known to have had interest in Muslim affairs before the First World War. This was sharpened when he himself observed the failure of Muslim movements in India as the Khilafat and Hijrat movements. Mashriqi thought that they were arrows in the dark; without guidance and were sure to meet failure. Muslims, however, still held the conviction that there was a Godly promise in the Quran that the Faithful would rule the earth. The visible decline of the Muslim world presented itself as a problem to Mashriqi. But he transformed it into a universal problem of rise and fall of nations, prosperity and durability of human groups, indeed, the prosperity and survival of mankind as a whole.

Mashriqi sought solution of the problem in synthesis of science and religion. How could such synthesis be created? By the

1920s, science had come to be seen as disinterested ~~by~~ pursuit of truth and ~~science~~ technology as a great boon for mankind. Religion was also regarded as something universal. Prophets of various religions still commanded respect, sometimes across religious boundaries. Equally universal, however, were quarrels, conflicts and deadly differences based on differences in religions. Given the importance of religion in the lives of individuals and nations, it was of utmost importance to establish the truth of religion among conflicting claims. This could be ^{done} ~~done~~ if religion was studied scientifically. Scientific method in the study of religion would establish the one, scientific truth about religion. But could religion be studied scientifically? Mashriqi's answer was in the affirmative.

In Mashriqi's view, religion came for the good of man. Its was concerned how Children of Adam should live in the world. It taught what in the perpetual struggle for existence would grant peace to the human race and ensure its survival and stability and prosperity and evolution. All prophets brought the same message. With their intense and sincere meditation they gained the knowledge of the working of the universe. It was on the basis of that knowledge that they were led to propound authentic principles basic to the establishment and maintenance of prosperous and durable polities. Religion, that is, was the science of establishing durable rule whereby man could realise his full potential. Scientific study of religion was envisaged to be a study of conditions of durable

polity. Who would undertake that study? Mashriqi wanted two groups to undertake this task. Firstly, he chided the fellow-scientists for their overemphasis in study^{ing} the 'work of God' the findings of which had, so far, produced mixed results. Darwin's notion of survival of the fittest, in Mashriqi's view, did yield some principles of the rise and fall of nations.. But it equally ~~led to~~ led to negative results. Findings of Western science, particularly those of evolutionary theory, tended to glorify animality of man's conduct and led to materialism and sensuousness. Mashriqi invited scientist to study the 'word of God' in the belief that they would exercise the same disinterestedness as they did in the study of nature, and reach final conclusion regarding the worth of claims of truth by various religions. That is, scientists may either proclaim one of the religions to be true, or they may conclude that religion as such is a fraud. Mashriqi tried to meet the objection about nonexistence of authentic religious text by arguing that the Quran was the last, up to date and and undefiled specimen of the word of God to man.

Secondly, Mashriqi thought Muslims could perform the role of scientific interpretation of religion by their practical adoption of the Quranic teachings. In his view, ~~if~~ ⁱⁿ sincerely ~~following~~ ^{following} the Quran, Muslim could bear witness unto mankind. That is, in their good actions, in struggle and exertion for the good, in their surrender, obedience and servitorship in the way of God - Muslims could attest to the truth of God and religion as such. Mankind would see with their eyes that actions of Muslims are guided and

dictated by belief in a sovereign God whom the Muslims serve. The goodness produced by sincere actions of Muslims, in accordance with religious teachings, would oblige others to think that God, though invisible, is yet real, existent, substantial. Positive attitude towards Islam so created would constitute a proof for the existence of God.

Mashriqi's religio-scientific synthesis points to his world-view, particularly his view of human nature, pivotal to the study of his political thought. Mashriqi believes man to be a climax of a long process of evolution possessing some characteristics of animals but enjoying free will with power to conceptualize, form ideals and live a spiritual life. He is endowed with powers of observation and reasoning and ^{foresight} ~~forward~~ such that he can conquer all forces of nature and put them to his use. Ultimately, he is destined to fuse back into Godhead. With his study of evolution as well as that of scriptures of mankind, Mashriqi tries to establish man's elevated place in the universe, his dignity, and his political thought is concerned with the core values of human dignity and human destiny. While the core values are constants of Mashriqi's thought, his view on institutions are its variables. The two values remain constant. Mashriqi does not make any compromise with regard to them. However, he is flexible with regard to institutions. He would favour creation of any appropriate institutional patterns that would contribute to the realization of the cherished values.

The basic reason for institutional variability lies in the levels at which values are to be realized. Human dignity may have to be realized at a level on which a group of people has an intense desire to be governed by itself, without outside interference. They want independence, autonomy. In the modern terminology, they want to be treated as an independent nation. Mashriqi theorises about the rise of an independent nation in terms of his decalogue, ten principles, on the basis of which a dynamic, independent nation would arise. The decalogue comprises unity of belief and action, respect for constituted authority, readiness to lay down life for the defence of the nation, financial sacrifice for the sake of the weak and the group as a whole, readiness to migrate and leave one's home and hearth, if required, for the sake of the group, endeavour and action with complete confidence in one's actions, good treatment to others and mutual help, belief in a day of judgement and study of nature as source of power for man. Acting upon principles of the decalogue would, in Mashriqi's view, raise a nation to a high pinnacle of power, able to establish and maintain its independence, autonomy.

Another level of human dignity is the level of community within an independent nation. In the newer terminology communities are called sub-nations, nationalities, etc. Their members believe that they are different from others in the country on the basis of religion, culture, race etc. and are committed that their distinctiveness should be preserved and protected. They want

recognition as a group with the implication that the basis of their distinction is acknowledge and affirmed by co-inhabitants as valid. Such affirmation would mean that members of the group will not be discriminated against just because they belong to the different group. They will enjoy dignity as human beings, even though they may belong to a community group different from the one to which coinhabitants of other, dominant community/communities belong to. That is, in ^{an} ~~the~~ heterogeneous society, groups will be given reasonable representation in public offices and will not be discriminated on the basis of their distinctive identity. At this level, a corporate state may be necessary.

However, Mashriqi goes further than usual corporatist ideas. He shows a deep concern for the underdog in various communities in a corporatist setup. He advocates representation of the have-nots by fixing quota for them. He thinks that it is beneath human dignity that the have-nots of a community be dominated by the privileged few of that community. He also advocates that top executive positions to be reserved for those who have had, alongwith other desirable qualities, acquired practical administrative experience by serving the country at several rungs of administration. The top executive posts of head of government/state should not go to persons with party affiliations because they are likely to represent parties rather than the nation and, lacking the previous administrative knowledge, will not accomplish anything during a short tenure of 3-5 years.

The fundamental level of human dignity is, of course, the dignity of the individual person. The crucial problem at this level is the problem of providing conditions for self-realization. Here Mashriqi distinguishes between philosophies rooted in materialist cultures and those rooted in spiritual cultures. The first ones provide freedom which will eventually end in the exploitation of many by the clever and economically dominant few. The first condition for self-realization was the elimination of such alien materialist philosophies as would condone capitalistic or other exploitation. Closely connected to this was elimination of hunger and Mashriqi goes so far as to suggest that grain should be the standard of value of money in the country. Other important areas concerned with self-realization included provision of education and civic rights.

The last level of human dignity is the humanity itself, the human species as such. Human dignity at this level is equated with human destiny, and the means whereby such destiny is envisaged to be realized, namely the unity of mankind. For Mashriqi, man's destiny was to conquer the universe which was likely to involve further evolution and transformation of man's body. This task could be accomplished by the united efforts of mankind as a whole. Unity of mankind was a condition for the successful achievement of human destiny. Mankind could be united in two ways. First one was that followers of a religion whose scripture was relatively up-to-date, and undenied, could make an effort. He was talking of Muslims who,

he said, were able to unite a large portion of the then known world in the early centuries of Islam. He thought that it would take Muslims more than a century to accomplish this task because they would have to have a command of the knowledge of nature. In 1951, Mashriqi urged the scientists as group to take over power in their countries and set the mankind on the path of conquest of nature. Justification for power to the scientists was that they were knowers of nature. Other major groups depended on their knowledge to establish and maintain themselves in power. Capital and labour, by themselves, could achieve nothing. It was the knowledge produced by the scientist which was the basis of rule by one (as in capitalist countries) or the other (as in communist countries).

This study has attempted to indicate the religio-scientific foundations of Mashriqi's thought, elaborating on his rational demonstration of the foundations of what may be called developed polity. While the study throws up certain points of contact with Western political thought, Mashriqi's unique treatment of a number of traditional problems has relevance for Pakistan's polity as well. Noting the contact with Western thought, it may be said that Mashriqi has devoted a good deal of attention to such problems as development of a dynamic nation, rights of minorities, respect for human personality, fundamental human rights and need for world-unity. He has also stated his views on issues of socio-economic development. But his ideas on such subjects differ from Western ideas and practices and seem to have more relevance to the Asian World than do the Western nations.

Mashriqi takes a lofty idea of man who, if he acted thoughtfully and made proper use of his powers of observation and intellect, could undertake conquest of the universe and one day meet his Creator. Such a lofty idea is at variance with some of the conclusions drawn from the Western study of the evolution of man. Particularly, the use of evolutionary theory to justify imperialism and exploitation, in the name of liberty and market economy, cannot find place in his thought. On the contrary, man's loftiness is to be further promoted by suitable political organization and measures of socio-economic reform. With the Quranic origin of his thought, Mashriqi identifies politics with morality. His moral standards are contained in the decalogue which, inter alia, includes the dynamic aspects of traditional Muslim rituals. His decalogue is a rational demonstration of foundations of a developed polity -- patriotism, unity of action, financial stability through stress on financial sacrifice, military preparedness, study of nature to gain power and heart-winning manners and etiquettes. The decalogue is envisaged to provide moral and socio-cultural bases on which the good of the individual and that of the group become interconnected and interdependent. Such ideas are relevant to the study of Pakistan's politics where questions of morality have always been important. Post-1971 Politico-administrative corruption has become so rampant there that common man tends to see solution of all problems in bringing morality in public affairs. Currently, there are cries of accountability all around. To the common man, accountability means rehabilitation of morality in politics and administration.

Government is necessary institution in a human society because man, in Mashriqi's view, is weak and could adopt selfishness and personal aggrandizement even after pronouncing commitment for cooperation. Man's words and deeds could differ. While government is necessary, its operations ^{need} ~~is~~ to have justification. Unjustified rule is not only immoral but also unstable. A stable rule can arise on the basis of moral principles which Mashriqi has collected into his decalogue. Mashriqi's conception of his decalogue represents a great ingenuity on his part. On the basis of the decalogue one can explain why certain nations fall prey to an imperialist control, and, at the same time, it indicates the way how imperialist control could be thrown off. Acting upon of the decalogue would make a nation dynamic, a live and flourishing nation. A dynamic nation would surely be inclined to expansionism. If other societies are not dynamic likewise, they would come under the sway of the dynamic one. European imperialism of nineteenth and twentieth centuries ~~was~~ ^{was} based on dynamism created, mainly, by the study of nature -- one of the most important principles of Mashriqi's decalogue. Imperialist control may try to transform itself by acting on principles of the decalogue, and may meet success in doing so. It may shed off its imperialistic nature, and create homogeneity among rulers and the ruled on the basis of the decalogue. In the process, differences among imperialist rulers and conquered people may be minimized, even eroded, as it happened in the early centuries of expansion of Islam.

Similarly, the decalogue contains the theory whereby conquered

and colonized people can win back their independence and autonomy. They must learn to create unity, discipline and faith in their destiny. They should be prepared to make sacrifices in terms of life and money for the good of their group, must pursue the study of nature to derive power based on discoveries of forces of nature. In Mashriqi's view, the European nations were acting on two or three important principles of the decalogue, namely, the study of nature, discipline and readiness to make sacrifice. And this raised them to the status of conquerors of most of the world. But their rule was unstable. Their study of nature was misdirected in that they were not relating the results from that study to the revealed word preached by prophets. The power they were deriving from the knowledge of nature tended to be used in a bestial manner. Also they avoided spiritual influences from the colonized people and there was no interaction to produce a proper synthesis. Europe's overemphasis on the work of God was unwarranted and was leading to militarism.

True to its religious foundation, Mashriqi's thought seems to resemble that of European Christian thought. But it differs from it in crucial respects. Mashriqi does not believe in the Church-State separation, nor does he believe in, so to say, 'one-dimensional' salvation, i.e. salvation in the hereafter. Of course he recognizes significance of belief in the hereafter with regard to moral public life, but he emphasizes salvation in this world. He is interested in a prosperous and durable society, which also means peace, plenty and progress in life on earth. Man could create such conditions by

establishing institutions promotive of dignity of individual human being, of various communities, of nations/states and, indeed, of mankind as a species.

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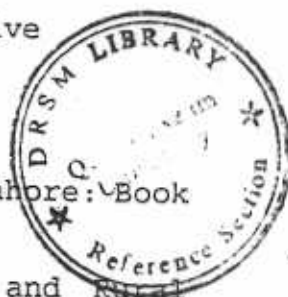
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